5-1-2013

The Delaware Indians and the Development of Prairie-Style Beadwork

Denise Neil-Binion

Denise Neil-Binion
Candidate

Art and Art History
Department

This thesis is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication:

Approved by the Thesis Committee:

Joyce Szabo , Chairperson

Kirsten Buick

Aaron Fry

THE DELAWARE INDIANS AND

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRAIRIE-STYLE BEADWORK

by

DENISE NEIL-BINION

B.F.A ART HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA, 1989
M.L.S. LIBERAL STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA, 2003
M.A. ART HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO, 2013

THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts
Art History

The University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico

May, 2013

Dedication

In memory of my aunt, Deborah Ledermann

For my Delaware ancestors

Acknowledgements

I gratefully acknowledge Joyce Szabo, my advisor and thesis chair, for her guidance and support. I also thank my committee members, Kirsten Buick and Aaron Fry, for their help and useful recommendations pertaining to this research. My aunt Deborah Ledermann sparked my interest in Delaware history and served as an inspiration for my research. I am truly saddened that she did not live to see the completion of this thesis, but I will be forever grateful for her knowledge of Delaware history and her support of my work. To my husband Jeff, I cannot thank you enough for your support in this endeavor. Your encouragement has made this journey possible.

THE DELAWARE INDIANS AND

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRAIRIE-STYLE BEADWORK

By

DENISE NEIL-BINION

B.F.A., Art History, University of Oklahoma, 1989
M.L.S.., Liberal Studies, University of Oklahoma, 2003
M.A., Art History, University of New Mexico, 2013

ABSTRACT

At the time of European contact, the Native Americans of North America had a long-standing tradition of decorating their clothing and other objects of personal adornment. This activity extended beyond ornamentation to encompass significant cultural practices associated with their concepts of well-being and wealth. The coming of the white man to North America had immediate and far-reaching impact on the Indians that included their manner of dress as they incorporated trade goods such as glass beads and woven cloth into their clothing.

The Delaware were regarded as the grandfathers or "original people" by the Eastern Woodlands Indians. The story of the Delaware's forced migration across the United States and their tenacity to maintain a sense of cultural identity in the face of assimilation is important in understanding their eventual influence in an elaborate style of beadwork that came to be known as the Prairie style. This artistic form is recognizable by its vibrant color palette, large abstracted floral motifs, geometric patterns, and the rows of white beads that outline these designs.

The Delaware have often been cited as leaders in the development and

dissemination of the Prairie style which was eventually used by Native American beadworkers living on reservations in Kansas, Oklahoma, Nebraska, Iowa, and Wisconsin. The Prairie style was used to embellish a wide variety of clothing and other objects including bandolier bags, breechcloths, leggings, moccasins, coats, shirts, hair wrappers, medicine bags, and horse tack. While there are stylistic elements that make this form of beadwork recognizable, Native American women also took the common design elements and combined them with their own aesthetics to create variations of this important art form.

In this paper, I argue that the influence of the Delaware in the perpetuation of this style can be linked to their status as the original people of the Eastern Woodlands tribes, their constant contact with other Native Americans during their forced migration, and their own desire to blend their aesthetics with trade goods to create elaborately beaded clothing that became a symbol of their Indianess.

Table of Contents

Introduction: An Overview of the Delaware and Prairie-style Beadwork 1

Chapter 1: Forced Migration: The History of the Delaware Indians 5

Chapter 2: The History and Meaning of Native American Clothing and Personal Adornment 27

Chapter 3: The Development and Dissemination of Prairie-style Beadwork 41

Conclusion 58

Illustrations 63

Notes 81

Bibliography 85

List of Illustrations

Figure 1: *William Penn's Treaty with the Indians,* Benjamin West, c. 1771.....63

Figure 2: Map – Forced Migration of the Delaware.....63

Figure 3: *Native American Man Painted for the Hunt*, Theodore de Bry, c. 1585.....64

Figure 4: *String of Wampum*, Algonquian, c. 1800.....64

Figure 5: *Two Delaware Indian Men and a Boy,* Thomas Campanius Holm, 1702 65

Figure 6: *Penn Wampum Belt,* Delaware, 1682.....65

Figure 7: *George Washington Wampum Belt*, Iroquois, late 18th century.....66

Figure 8: *Quillwork Bag*, Eastern Woodlands, 18th century.....66

Figure 9: *Double Curve* (detail), Micmac, early 19th century.....67

Figure 10: *Saddle Blanket*, Ho-Chunk, 19th century.....67

Figure 11: *Quillwork Bag with Pony Bead Strap*, Delaware, late 18th century.....68

Figure 12: *Coat*, Delaware or Shawnee, early 19th century 68

Figure 13: *Coat*, Delaware or Shawnee, 1840-1860 69

Figure 14: *Man's Vest,* Prairie Band of Potawatomi, late 19th century.....69

Figure 15: Diagram of Spot or Overlay Stitch 70

Figure 16: *Bandolier Bag*, Delaware, c. 1860.....70

Figure 17: *Loom Woven Bandolier Bag*, Ho-Chunk, c. 1900.....71

Figure 18: *Block Printed Cotton Fabrics*, English, early 19th century.....71

Figure 19: *Jackson-Houston Bandolier Bag*, Cherokee early 19th century 72

Figure 20: *Leggings*, Ojibwe, c. 1890 72

Figure 21: *Bandolier Bag*, Ojibwe or Ho-Chunk, late 19th century 73

Figure 22: *Sled Bag,* Athapaskan, c. 1900 73

Figure 23: *Bandolier Bag*, Cherokee, 1838 74

Figure 24: *Bandolier Bag*, Delaware, early 19th century 74

List of Illustrations

Figure 25: *Bandolier Bag*, Delaware, c. 1850 75

Figure 26: *Bandolier Bag*, Delaware, 1850-1875 75

Figure 27: Delaware Moccasin Vamp Designs 76

Figure 28: *Moccasins*, Delaware, late 19th century 76

Figure 29: *Moccasins*, Meskwaki, c. 1880 century 77

Figure 30: *Leggings*, Potawatomi, late 19th century 77

Figure 31: *Breechcloth*, Meskwaki, late 19th century 78

Figure 32: *Faw Faw Religion Coat and Shirt*, Otoe-Missouria, late 19th century 78

Figure 33: *Midéwiwin Otter Medicine Bag*, Ho-Chunk, late 19th century 79

Figure 34: *Cradleboard*, Kiowa, late 19th century 79

Figure 35: *Moccasins*, possibly Kiowa, early 20th century 80

Figure 36: *Unidentified Native American Woman*, late 19th century 80

Introduction

An Overview of the Delaware and Prairie-style Beadwork

Delaware Indians have a strong cultural heritage despite dispossession of their homelands, complex intertribal relationships, and governmental oppression. The Delaware also had the tenacity to preserve a sense of Native American identity in the face of acculturation and assimilation into the dominant white culture. The arrival of the white man on the North American continent forever changed the lives of all Native Americans, and these changes permeated every part of their lives including clothing and other objects of personal adornment. Prior to European contact, the Delaware decorated their bodies and their clothing as a form of cultural expression and identification. Tattoos and body paint were commonly used. They also decorated their clothing and other objects with dyed porcupine quills as embellishment, and they used beads made of natural materials such as shells, seeds, and stone.

The importance of personal adornment among the Delaware has a long history. In the eighteenth century the missionary John Heckwelder, who was working among the Delaware in Pennsylvania, described, their "dress up" clothing as being:

> "highly decorated with such a number of gewgaws and trinkets that it is impossible to give a precise description.… The women have thimbles and little bells rattling at their ankles, and the men have deer's claws fixed to their braced garters or knee bands and shoes…for they consider jingling and rattling as indispensably necessary to their performances in the way of dancing."[1]

When the Europeans arrived, the Delaware Indians and other tribes readily incorporated European cloth as a new fabric to be used for clothing, and over time they adopted European clothing styles and were influenced by their decorative designs. Traditional forms of personal adornment such as the use of quillwork on hide were replaced by new art forms created using trade goods such as glass beads, wool, and

cotton fabrics. Inspired by the floral designs printed on cloth fabrics, the Delaware and other Native American tribes appropriated these patterns and made them their own by creating larger abstract floral motifs which were sometimes used in conjunction with geometric patterns. Although Euro-Americans encouraged the Indians to adopt western-style clothing, Native Americans continued to produce evermore elaborately beaded clothing, and floral motifs became the symbol of their Indianess.

By the nineteenth century, Native Americans, including the Delaware, sought trade goods that could be used to create elaborately embellished objects of personal adornment. Their primary decorative technique was beading, and by the second half of the nineteenth century a new style of beadwork that came to be known as the Prairie style developed on reservations in Kansas, Oklahoma, Nebraska, Iowa, and Wisconsin. Formal dress for Native Americans was worn at ritual events and other special occasions and became an important part of Native American culture even as Native people were being encouraged to "give up the blanket" and live and dress like the white man.

While bandolier bags, inspired by the form of European ammunition pouches, stand out as some of the most elaborately beaded examples decorated in the Prairie style, it was also used to embellish breechcloths, moccasins, robes, leggings, shirts, coats, cradleboards, horse tack, small pouches, hair wrappers, and medicine bags. Abstract floral motifs combined with geometric patterns all outlined in rows of white beads dominated Prairie-style designs. The choice to incorporate floral designs into beadwork will be more fully examined in this paper, but there is no apparent evidence to suggest that floral motifs had significant cultural meaning among the tribes prior to

its prominent use among beadworkers during the second half of the nineteenth century.

While most beadworkers who adopted this intertribal style limited their designs to the use of floral motifs and geometric patterns, some tribes did use the Prairie style to depict religious symbolism. Most notably this is found among clothing associated with the late nineteenth-century Faw Faw revivalist movement of the Iowa and Otoe-Missouria tribes. Regardless of the type of clothing or its use, the creativity and artistry seen in this popular form of personal adornment from the middle of the nineteenth through the early years of the twentieth century has been studied only superficially, and the Prairie style is worthy of more significant investigation concerning its origin.

It has been suggested by some scholars, most notably Ted J. Brasser and Lois Sherr Dubin, that the Delaware were particularly instrumental in the development of this new intertribal style.[2] However, these theories have only been put forth in broad and generalized statements with little support presented to back their claims. Despite the lack of written documentation in current scholarship, I argue that there is substantial supporting evidence to demonstrate the Delaware's influence on the creation of this important beadwork style used by a number of Native American groups including the Delaware, Osage, Shawnee, Otoe-Missouria, Kansa, Potawatomi, Sauk, Meskwaki, and Ho-Chunk, among other tribes. Furthermore, I would argue, the role the Delaware played can be linked to both their long history of migration and their long standing relationships with other tribal groups with whom they lived and traded during their long journey across the United States from their Native homelands of Delaware, New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania to their current homes in Oklahoma.

To understand how the Delaware came to be a significant influence in this

artistic endeavor, we must examine and understand their history and culture as a people who were pushed from their homelands and stripped of much of their cultural heritage. Despite the many hardships they faced during centuries of contact, first with Europeans and later with Americans, the Delaware had an inherent drive to maintain an American Indian identity that inspired them to create this important and very recognizable style of beadwork. Although government officials and missionaries encouraged Native Americans to become "civilized" by accepting the dress of white men, the Delaware and other tribes with whom they interacted used beadwork as a representation of their culture. By the end of the nineteenth century elaborately beaded, formal dress was a symbol of Indian solidarity. This study examines the history of the Delaware, how their migration led to the development of the Prairie style, and how the Prairie style became an important intertribal expression of being Native American across the plains and prairies of the central United States.

Chapter 1

Forced Migration: History of the Delaware Indians

In the early seventeenth century, the Dutch, Swedes, and English explored and settled in the Delaware River Valley, a land inhabited by the indigenous, Algonquian-speaking people known as the Lenape and later renamed by the white man as the Delaware Indians. During this period of initial contact, the Delaware were living in small villages scattered along the rivers and tributaries in what are now parts of Delaware, New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania. The news that Europeans were willing to trade exotic items made of iron, brass, glass, and cloth for animal pelts spread quickly among the tribes living in the northeastern region of America, and written records indicate that early contact between the Delaware and the Europeans led to immediate exchange of trade goods. Initially hospitable, the Delaware had naively supposed that the explorers had come to their territories simply to trade with them, and they did not perceive the newcomers as competitors for their land.

The impact of European contact had immediate and far-reaching effects on both the culture and the land inhabited by the Delaware. When William Penn landed on the banks of the Delaware River in 1682, he immediately devised a plan for obtaining land from the Indians. Penn believed the Indians should be compensated for their land, and arranged meetings with each tribe to negotiate payment. During these meetings, he gave the Indians gifts in exchange for ceding their lands (figure 1). When he "purchased" land from the Delaware in 1682, he paid them in trade goods consisting of the following items:

> 5 pairs of stockings, 20 bars of lead, 10 tobacco boxes, 6 coats, 2 guns, 8 shirts, 2 kettles, 12 awls, 5 hats, 25 pounds of powder, 1 peck of pipes, 38 yards of

> duffields, 16 knives, 100 needles, 10 glasses, 5 caps, 15 combs, 5 hoes, 9 gimlets, 20 fish hooks, 10 tobacco tongs, 10 pairs of scissors, 7 half-gills, 6 axes, 2 blankets, 4 handfuls of bells, 4 yards of 'stroudwaters' and 20 handfuls of wampum.[1]

While Penn, a Quaker, may have had good intentions and felt that his negotiations were fair, it can be surmised that the Indians, including the Delaware, were not fully complicit in the relinquishment of their lands, and they could not have predicted the lasting implications. Native Americans had shared the land in common and must have perceived Penn's gifts as payment for use of the land, not possession of it. Instead of sharing the land in common with the whites, the Delaware were now dispossessed of a part of their homelands where they had hunted, fished, and planted their crops for generations. Those who had been living in the territory "purchased" by William Penn were forced to move across the Delaware River to reside with their extended Delaware friends and family, and the arduous journey of the Delaware tribe was set into motion.

While Penn may not have understood Native Americans' relationship to the land, and he used English law, which was not understood by the Indians, as the method to "fairly" obtain land in Pennsylvania, his heirs were more devious in their dealings with the Delaware as evident in the Walking Purchase of 1737. A treaty was agreed upon between the Delaware and Penn family representatives, which stipulated that the amount of land to be turned over to the Penn family was to equal the distance a man could walk in a day and a half. But the Penn family hired three runners, who had trained for months to participate in the "walk."[2]

At sunrise on September 19, 1737, the men selected to participate in the walking purchase took off on foot. After only one and a half hours, the three men had already

reached Tinicum, some nineteen miles from the starting point. Witnesses selected to represent the interests of the Delaware were astonished and complained that the men were running rather than walking as stipulated in the treaty. Their arguments were dismissed, and the runners crossed the Lehigh River and ended their run at present-day Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. In all the runners covered sixty-five miles in eighteen hours. The Penn family stole this land from the Delaware and drove them further from their ancestral homes.[3]

Despite the loss of lands, the Delaware remained steadfast in their refusal to give up their cultural practices. While they were willing to use superior European weapons, tools, and implements and adopt certain articles of European clothing, they had no intention of abandoning their cultural practices in favor of living like the white man. Delaware women were in charge of raising crops, and Delaware men did not want to give up hunting to become farmers. They did not share the white man's ambition to accumulate wealth. They did not want to give up their native customs, their language, their dances, and their religious ceremonies, and they did not want their children to learn about Christianity or how to speak English.

It was the English, not the Swedes or the Dutch, who eventually gained control of the Delaware River Valley, and they claimed that all land in America belonged to the Crown by right of discovery. The Indians had the right to occupy the land until it was surrendered by deed, treaty, or conquest, but Indians were never seen as the rightful possessors of the land they inhabited. White buyers took advantage of the Native Americans, using coercion and deception to persuade the Indians to sacrifice their rights of occupancy. From this point forward, Delaware lands were continually

encroached upon, and they were forced to migrate across the United States for nearly two centuries until their final settlement in northeast Oklahoma in 1868 (figure 2).

In their first migration, the Delaware moved to the valley of the Susquehanna River, and by 1742 the last band of the tribe left the Delaware River Valley. This was not a mass migration but took place over a number of years as individual families made their way to a new homeland where they hoped to live in peace far away from white colonizers. The Susquehanna was claimed by the Six Nations Iroquois and with their consent the Delaware resettled in their new homes. The Six Nations had been on good terms with the English, and the Delaware were forced to take a subservient role to the powerful confederacy when they settled on the Susquehanna. The Delaware were forbidden from going to war, participating in treaty negotiations, and playing a role in diplomatic affairs; this subjugation did not sit well with them, and they eventually rebelled.

When the French and Indian War broke out in 1754, the Six Nations expected the Delaware to join them as allies and fight with the English; instead, most Delaware families, led by an aggressive leader named Shingas, moved further into the frontier of western Pennsylvania. The chiefs of the Six Nations and the Pennsylvania government had placed Shingas in charge of the Delaware, and they had hoped the Delaware leader would side with their interests. Both the Six Nations and the leaders of Pennsylvania had misjudged Shingas; he was not a puppet leader. He was a strong chief, who had grown bitter by seeing his tribe unable to defend themselves. Under his leadership, Delaware warriors allied with the Shawnee and, supplied with provisions and ammunition by the French, launched attacks across the frontier. They scalped and killed

settlers, burned down cabins and barns, stole livestock and took women and children as prisoners. By 1756, the province of New Jersey issued a proclamation which stated that the Delaware and Shawnee were "enemies, rebels, and traitors," and, "by and with the advice of his Majesty's Council, hereby charge and command all Officers, Civil and Military, all soldiers, and other inhabitants in this Government, to forbear carrying on an Offensive War against the said Indians."[4]

In the same year, Pennsylvania's Lieutenant Governor Robert Hunter Morris issued a proclamation declaring war on the Delaware and any Indian allies that were attacking settlers in Pennsylvania. The declaration of war read in part, "I do hereby require His Majesty's subjects of this Province, and earnestly invite those of neighbouring Provinces to embrace all Opportunities of pursuing, taking, killing, and destroying the said Delaware Indians, and all others confederated with them in committing Hostilities, Incursions, Murders, and Ravages upon this Province."[5] The declaration continues, stating that there would be reward money issued for prisoners and scalps of the hostile Indians. The bounty amounts were as follows: one hundred and fifty Spanish dollars or pieces of eight for every male Indian prisoner above the age of twelve, one hundred and thirty pieces of eight for the scalp of every male Indian above the age of twelve. One hundred and thirty pieces of eight for female Indians and males under the age of twelve taken as prisoners, and for the scalp of every Indian woman, fifty pieces of eight.[6] The monetary incentive to kill or take prisoner the Delaware and their tribal allies leaves little doubt the extent to which the provinces and the settlers saw these hostile Natives as a threat. By launching these attacks on white settlers, the Delaware were rebelling against the English and the Six Nations Confederacy. They

were also sending a clear message that they were not going to be easily conquered, and were willing to fight for their land and their rights.

While many Delaware had followed Shingas to western Pennsylvania, others remained in the Susquehanna Valley. Warriors from both groups engaged in the attacks on the settlers. It seems the Delaware and their allies in these raids had reached the breaking point. These Indians harbored deep resentment for Europeans and their intrusion on their lands. They were also avenging the wrongs they had suffered from broken promises, the spread of disease, and the distribution of alcohol, all of which had decimated their population. They viewed the suffering that they had endured as the result of the white man's arrival, and some believed that the Europeans were deliberately trying to destroy them.

Deliberate efforts to destroy Native populations can be confirmed in a letter dated July 13, 1763 from Lord General Jeffery Amherst to Colonel Henry Bouquet which reads, "Could it not be contrived to send the small pox among the disaffected tribes of Indians? We must on this occasion use every stratagem in our power to reduce them." Bouquet responded on July 16, 1763, writing that he would try to spread an epidemic by giving the Indians blankets used by small pox patients. Amherst agreed this was an excellent idea, "You will do well to try every other method than can serve to extirpate this execrable race."[7]

When the French and Indian War was coming to an end and the French defeat was imminent, the Delaware sought to make peace with the Anglo-Americans. Beaver, the brother of Shingas, negotiated for the Delaware at Fort Pitt and Teedyuskung represented the Delaware who had remained in the Susquehanna River Valley at Easton,

Pennsylvania. Peace between the Delaware and the colonists existed for a brief period, but once again white settlers pushed into Native lands. The Delaware families who had not followed Shingas decided it was time to leave the Susquehanna Valley and join their relatives. While the Delaware had lived in small villages at the time of contact with Europeans, the tribe now united in Ohio and formed a cohesive group living together in a larger community than ever before. Here they sought to find strength through tribal identity as they continued to practice their traditional ways of life.

The Wyandot occupied the land immediately west of the Ohio River, and they invited the Delaware to share their land with them. The Delaware settled on the Tuscarawas, a tributary of the Muskingum River; the land was fertile and the woods were filled with deer and other game. With only scattered white settlements in the Ohio Territory, the Delaware felt they had found a new place to dwell where they could live without the intrusion of Euro-Americans.

Despite the relief they felt by distancing themselves from white settlers, the Delaware and their culture had been disrupted because of their dependence on European goods. They had resisted adopting the language, religion, and many customs of the white man, but now found it very difficult to survive without metal tools, weapons and ammunition, cooking pots and cloth for clothing. Delaware men had once been skilled at fabricating their tools from natural materials, but these skills had been lost. Before contact, Delaware women were experts in molding clay pottery, weaving baskets, and making clothes from animal hides; they now relied on the traders' cloth, ribbon, blankets, and iron pots.

The Delaware were also under increasing pressure to adopt Christianity. The

most zealous of the missionaries working among the Delaware were the Unity of Brethren, more commonly known as the Moravians. These missionaries not only wanted to convert the Indians to Christianity, they also saw it as their duty to make changes to the non-Christian customs practiced by Native Americans. Baptized Indians were required to give up their native name and adopt one of biblical origin. Converts were compelled to leave their native villages and live in mission towns where they were supervised by Moravian pastors, and the Indians were not allowed to go on hunting trips without informing the missionaries.[8] The Christian Indians were taught temperance, and the sanctity of monogamous marriage, and that in all things they must obey their teachers. They were not allowed to paint their faces, they were expected to dress modestly, and the men were required to grow their hair long instead of shaving their heads and leaving a scalp lock. Converted Indians attended daily worship and sent their children to school where they learned to read and write so they could study the Bible and understand the words of Christian hymns.

The Moravians allowed unconverted Indians to visit the mission towns because they saw it as an opportunity to bring new followers into the faith; however, they worried that traditionalists would persuade the converts to abandon Christianity and return home. The Delaware were divided on the issue of Christianity. Principal Chief Netawatwees respected the missionaries, but was torn between adopting their faith and remaining true to his own Nativistic beliefs. Other leaders such as Killbuck strongly opposed the Moravians' intrusion into Delaware culture and religion. Killbuck had followers within the tribe who shared his views. This opposition led to unrest among the tribe. Although the Moravians found converts among the Delaware, which

splintered the tribe, the majority of the Delaware chose to remain with their families and continued to practice their own religion.

To add to the tension, the tribe became even more divided during the American Revolution. Knowing that the Delaware were skilled in surprise attacks and were familiar with the forest and surrounding terrain, the English tried to persuade them to join in the fight against the American colonists. The British also knew that the Delaware held a strong influence over other Indian tribes of the region, many of whom symbolically regarded them as grandfathers. If they could convince the Delaware to fight on their side, they hoped other tribes would follow suit. Convincing the Delaware to fight on either side proved to be difficult. After experiencing defeats in the French and Indian War (1754-1763) as well as Pontiac's Rebellion (1763-1766), the Delaware ultimately decided to remain neutral when the war began.

With the Revolutionary War looming, another important change took place; the Principal Chief Netawatwees turned his rule over to the Delaware known as White Eyes. Many of the tribes including the Wyandot, who had allowed the Delaware to live on their land, had decided to fight with the British during the Revolution. The Wyandot tried to convince the Delaware to join them in the fight against the Americans, but White Eyes was on good terms with Colonel George Morgan, and as a result of their friendship he developed pro-American sentiments. Despite this sentiment, he still refused to go to war. Colonel Morgan continued to build his relationship with the new chief, and in September 1778 military and political leaders representing Pennsylvania and Virginia met with the Delaware chiefs White Eyes, Captain John Killbuck, and Captain Pipe at Fort Pitt.

The Americans sought the protection of the Delaware for their march from Fort Pitt to the English garrison at Detroit, and the commissioners from Pennsylvania and Virginia were authorized to provide the Delaware with $10,000 in goods in exchange for their protection.[9] But more importantly, the treaty's sixth and final article promised that Indians who were friendly to the United States would be permitted to form a fourteenth state in the newly formed American union. White Eyes, Captain Killbuck, and Captain Pipe all agreed to sign the treaty, and White Eyes was given a commission of lieutenant colonel in the United States Army. Unfortunately, White Eyes was killed under mysterious circumstances in November of 1778, and without their leader the Delaware were again divided on who to support in the war. Killbuck and his followers sided with the Americans while Captain Pipe, who was never completely committed to the American cause, led Delaware warriors fighting with the English. This schism within the tribe continued until the war ended.

With Great Britain's defeat, they ceded lands extending to the Great Lakes in the north, Spanish Florida in the south, and the Mississippi River to the west, and Congress established these new western lands as the Northwest Territory. This newly established territory was seen as a way to pay off the Nation's war debt through sale of the land. The problem, of course, was that the land was already occupied by the Delaware, Munsie, Shawnee, Ottawa, Wyandot, Mingo, Kickapoo, Potawatomi, Chippewa, Miami, Peoria, Kaskaskia, Wea, Piankashaw, Sauk, Meskwakie, and other Indian nations.

In 1783 thirty-fives tribes, including the Delaware, met to form an Indian confederacy to defend their lands against invaders. Congress believed that the territory

ceded to the United States by England gave them exclusive title. The concept of right of discovery invoked by the British had transferred to the Americans. President Washington was fully aware of Indian claims to the land, but he realized that American expansion could only be achieved by extinguishing Native rights of occupancy. On January 21, 1785, the Delaware, Wyandot, and a few members of the Chippewa and Ottawa tribes signed a treaty at Fort McIntosh. The Indians agreed that they were under the protection of the United States. Boundaries were established for an area of land in Ohio where they could live, farm, and hunt, and the valley of the Muskigum River was opened for white settlement.

Misunderstanding and controversies continued for the Indians who had been moved to their reserves in Ohio, and, in an effort to assert their autonomy, they again took up arms and attacked settlers on the Ohio frontier. The United States retaliated, launching expeditions aimed at squelching the Indian uprising. In the first two expeditions, the Americans suffered defeats, but the third led by General "Mad" Anthony Wayne was successful in defeating the Indian Confederacy at the Battle of Fallen Timbers along the Maumee River in what is now Indiana.

On August 3, 1795, Wayne negotiated a treaty with twelve tribes at Greenville, Ohio. Key elements of the treaty included the Indians' agreement to cease hostilities, give up all white captives, and acknowledge that they were under the protection of the United States. With the exception of several small tracts, the Indians were to be given lands west of the Cuyahoga River and south and west of the Great Lakes as far as the Mississippi River.[10] The treaty stipulated that the Indians could live, plant, and hunt on this land with government protection from the intrusion of white settlers. Goods in

excess of $20,000 were also to be distributed to the tribes along with the promise to supply useful goods "forever after" annually to each of the tribes who signed the treaty.[11]

The treaty did not set boundaries stipulating where each tribe should live and hunt; instead, it left this decision to the tribes. The Miami considered themselves the owners of present-day Ohio and Indiana, the Wea occupied villages along the middle Wabash Valley, and the displaced tribes needed land to settle. After the signing of the Greenville Treaty, the Miami invited these displaced tribes to settle in their territory, allocating specific areas for them to live; the government did not interfere. All agreements were verbal contracts, and tribes understood their obligations to one another without written legal procedures. Once again the Delaware had been forced to migrate, and through the generosity of another tribe they reestablished themselves on new lands. After finalizing their agreement with the Miami, Delaware families began moving to the west fork of the White River in Indiana.

The Delaware's life on the White River was one of the lowest points in their existence since their initial contact with the Europeans. The tribe, with the exception of those who had adopted Christianity, refused to adopt the ways of the white man, and a deliberate movement was underway to reject white trade goods and revert to a pre-contact way of life. There was an increased emphasis on native ceremonies, sacrificial feasts and dances, and other non-Christian activities. Alcoholism had become widespread and tribal members were urged to stop drinking. The men continued to resist the government's advice to give up hunting and become farmers or raise livestock. After more than a century of being lied to and taken advantage of, there was a

growing animosity toward living like the white man, and, as C. A. Weslager has noted, "the Delaware felt the Creator was displeased that they had given up native customs and the sickness and other adversity that they had experienced was interpreted by them as a punishment for sacrificing their Indianism."[12]

Despite the Delaware's resolve to return to the Nativistic culture of their ancestors, the Moravian missionaries were not deterred, and they eagerly continued their work on the White River while the Delaware tribal council tried to persuade converted Indians to return to the tribe. Tribal leaders determined that the Creator had given them ways to worship and insisted that the Delaware retain their own ceremonies and beliefs. The Delaware continuously harassed the missionaries, who finally abandoned their mission in September 1806.[13]

Perhaps the most divisive issue during the Delaware's time in Indiana Territory was the rise to power of the Shawnee leaders Tenskwatawa, known as the Prophet, and his brother Tecumseh. The Prophet moved to one of the Delaware villages along the White River, and he drew large crowds of listeners as he preached that Indians should renounce Christianity, shave their heads, and live as warriors. He advocated that they not intermarry with whites, raise only horses, and discard white man's clothes in favor of traditional native dress and face paint. Some of the Prophet's teachings such as abstaining from alcohol were positive, but he also convinced his followers that many of the Delaware had been bewitched and encouraged them to commit crimes to rid the tribe of evil. When he accused the Delaware chiefs Tetpachskit and Hockingpomska of practicing the black arts, he was able to turn many of the Delaware against their leaders.

During this period of turmoil, the young Delaware William Anderson had

escaped the Prophet's accusations and assumed the role of principal chief on the White River. Although he was a non-Christian and opposed the Moravians' efforts, he also felt that the Prophet was misguided in his revitalization movement, and his preaching was dividing his already fragile tribe. Although the Delaware had been promoting a return to their traditional way of life, for Anderson, the Prophet's teachings went too far. Rather than accept the Prophet's teaching to abandon the ways of the white man and fight the government, Anderson felt it was in the best interest for the tribe to establish a better relationship with the United States. He was certain that it was only a matter of time before white settlers would look to settle in Indiana Territory which was ideal for agriculture and rich with natural resources. He was thinking toward the future and was right to be concerned about the security of his tribe in Indiana.

Land in Indiana was also a concern of President Jefferson who encouraged the westward expansion of the United States. Jefferson envisioned the land of Indiana divided into thriving farms, but there could be no permanent settlements as long as Indians held the exclusive rights to occupy this land. Jefferson sent William Henry Harrison to negotiate treaties in which the Indians would relinquish their rights to the land and cede it to the United States as the rightful owners. The cession of Indiana Territory to the government would mean acreage could be sold to frontier families. Both Jefferson and Harrison were under the impression that the Indians and white families could live side by side, all working as farmers to cultivate the land. Furthermore, inter-marriage would lead to assimilation and the Indian problem would be resolved. Harrison and the War Department's Indian Agency would offer the Indians farm implements and oxen at reasonable prices which would be deducted from their

annual annuity payments. Experienced farmers would teach them how to become farmers and raise their livestock.

Once again, the Delaware were not ready to make such a radical shift in their culture. They persisted in maintaining the custom of leaving their villages to hunt and trap in the fall, women continued to care for the crops, and most of all they continued to practice their religion, speak their language, and hold on to their culture. Maintaining their traditions came at a cost; records from the time indicate that many Delaware people suffered from want and starvation as the money given to them for their land was used to buy the things they needed to survive, and their hunting territory was diminished.[14] Living in Indiana Territory had been a difficult time in Delaware history, and there was little hope for the future.

As for the government, the Indian question was yet to be solved. After the 1803 purchase of the Louisiana Territory, Jefferson advanced another solution to the problem – persuade the Indians to cede their remaining lands in Indiana Territory in exchange for lands west of the Mississippi. White settlers would be free to establish their farms in the agricultural utopia that Jefferson envisioned, and the Indians could hunt, fish, and roam as they pleased unencumbered by white intruders in the West.

Convincing the Indians to move still further west was not easy, and William Henry Harrison stopped at nothing to compel the Indians to cede their lands to the federal government. He not only promised the Indians occupancy rights to lands west of the Mississippi, but he also bestowed cash, gifts, and annuities in order to convince the Delaware and other tribes to once again abandon their homes. By the end of 1805, Harrison had acquired millions of acres to be occupied by the Indians in the West, but

all of his efforts on behalf of the government further antagonized the Indians and contributed to a violent anti-white movement led by Tecumseh and his brother the Prophet.

Tecumseh's plan was to build a strong Native American confederacy that would defend their right to the land, and he claimed that Harrison's purchases were invalid because all tribes shared the land in common and no one group had the authority to sell it to the government. The Shawnee leader's ultimate objective was to live in a sovereign Indian State free from United States interference and the encroachment of settlers. This was not unlike the goal of the Delaware Chief White Eyes who had negotiated the treaty to establish a fourteenth state at the time of the Revolutionary War, but Tecumseh and his followers were not just taking a diplomatic approach; they were willing to fight for the establishment of their own sovereign nation. The Delaware Council under Chief Anderson refused to support Tecumseh, even sending a delegation to try to persuade him from carrying out his plan.

At the beginning of the War of 1812, the Miami, Piankashaw, Chippewa, Ottawa, Wea, Eel River, Osage, Sauk, Meskwaki, Kickapoo, Pawnee, and others joined the English in their fight against the Americans. The Wyandot, Delaware, Seneca, and many Shawnee tried to remain neutral in the conflict. Delaware relations with the Miami, who had provided the Delaware with land along the White River, were strained because they were determined not to get involved in the war. The Miami sent a delegation to try to convince their neighbors to join the fight, but Chief Anderson refused.

When Tecumseh was defeated at the Battle of the Thames in October of 1813

support for his cause dwindled. Because they refused to fight with Tecumseh, the government viewed the Delaware as a friendly tribe and continued to pay them their annual annuities. Undoubtedly, Chief Anderson must have believed that the neutrality of the Delaware had worked in their favor.

On July 22, 1814, the Delaware, Wyandot, Shawnee, and Seneca as well as those tribes that had fought against the Americans in the war attended a council at Greenville, Ohio and signed a treaty of peace and friendship. All signers agreed to aid the United States in their war against the British and assist the government with bringing it to a conclusion. The government promised to restore the Indians land that they occupied before the war, and before the end of 1814 most of the Delaware returned to their homes on the White River.

Although Harrison, under the direction of President Jefferson, had envisioned the rich farmlands of Indiana occupied by white settlers, by 1818 almost two-thirds of the young state was still occupied by Indians. This was an obvious deterrent to westward expansion, and now President Monroe's administration was under increasing pressure to implement Jefferson's policy to move the Indians west of the Mississippi. A series of treaties were negotiated between the government and tribes living in Indiana. For the Delaware the treaty signed at St. Mary's, Ohio on October 3, 1818 was the most important.

In the St. Mary's treaty, the Delaware agreed to relinquish their right to occupy their lands on the White River and move west of the Mississippi. According to the terms of the treaty the Delaware would be allowed three years to move, and the government would supply them with horses and provisions for the journey. The

Delaware were also to be reimbursed for improvements made to their land in Indiana in an amount not to exceed $13,312.25. They would also receive a perpetual annuity of $4,000 in silver coin in addition to annuities that they were already receiving. Finally, the government agreed to provide them with adequate land west of the Mississippi and guaranteed them peaceful possession.[15] By the summer of 1821 all the Delaware had vacated their homes and were headed west.

The migration of the Delaware was complicated and filled with problems. Responsibility for the tribe switched hands as they traveled across state lines. The Piqua Agency was in charge of provisioning for their trip west. After crossing the Wabash River into Illinois the responsibility changed again; by the time they arrived in Missouri they became the wards of Major Richard Graham whose resources were limited. He did not have the supplies necessary for the continuation of their journey. The government's inability to efficiently move the Delaware was exacerbated by the fact that the Indian Agencies of the War Department were also moving the Shawnee, Miami, Potawatomi, Kickapoo, Chippewa, Wyandot and other displaced tribes at the same time. Each agency passed the migrants along as quickly as possible to avoid any problems that might arise from delays in moving the Indians speedily on their way. While provisions and safe passage were a major concern, another problem also arose; before these tribes left Indiana, the government had not set aside specific lands for them to occupy in the West. Chief Anderson hoped for fertile lands to grow crops and an abundance of wild game to hunt. He trusted that the government would find suitable lands, and he did not send a scouting party to ensure that the lands would be acceptable. This was a decision he would regret, as the Delaware spent eight unhappy years in Missouri while Chief

Anderson tried to negotiate a treaty that would move his tribe to a more suitable home.

The land selected for the Delaware was about ten miles south of present-day Springfield, Missouri. White squatters were already settled on this land, and they resented the intrusion of the Delaware claiming ownership of land they were already farming. Friction soon ensued, and the government stepped in to assist with a solution whereby the settlers would pay the Delaware a small rent for use of their land. After 1824 there were few conflicts between white settlers and the Delaware, but other problems made life in Missouri difficult. The land was fertile but subject to flooding during the spring and early summer and game was scarce. The Delaware were forced to go west onto the plains to hunt buffalo where they had repeated conflicts with the Osage.

The main body of the Delaware had been living together since they had sought refuge in Ohio, but there were small bands that had split away from the tribe. Chief Anderson hoped to consolidate his tribe and invited a group of Delaware who had been living at Cape Girardeau, Missouri to rejoin them. This small group accepted the offer, but some of the Cape Girardeau group had gone further west before the arrival of the main body of Delaware. These absentee Delaware were living along the Red River from McCurtain County, Oklahoma to Miller County, Arkansas. There were also families who had remained in Kaskaskia; one band was living on the upper Sandusky River in Ohio, there were at least three settlements in Canada who had moved there with the Moravian missionaries, and there was a Stockbridge-Munsie community residing in Wisconsin. These Delaware were settled into their homes, and were not willing to pull up stakes to join their relatives in Missouri.

While Anderson was not able to fully unite his scattered tribe into a singular group, he was eventually able to negotiate a treaty that allowed them to leave Missouri. The Treaty of Council Camp was concluded on September 24, 1829, and the Delaware would be placed on a reservation in Kansas Territory at the confluence of the Kansas and Missouri rivers. Anderson also requested the annual annuity be increased by $1000.00 as compensation for the land they were vacating.[16] He asked that the tribe be given supplies for the journey and that the supplies would continue for one year after their arrival in Kansas. Chief Anderson, trying to do what was best for his people, also wanted to prepare them to transition from hunters to farmers; he arranged for the supply of farm implements and tools, as well as the construction of a sawmill and grist mill to be erected on their Kansas reservation. The Delaware transition to Kansas would be completed by the construction of a school where Delaware children would be educated by white teachers. Anderson also wanted the government to give the tribe title to the land so they could sell it in the future if they desired; the government refused to comply with this last demand. However, the tribe was allowed to send a delegation to Kansas to approve the reservation before the treaty was signed. By 1830, the tribe was once again settling into their new homes.

The Kansas reservation was located near Fort Leavenworth and was estimated at 924,160 acres. There were approximately 1,050 Delaware living on the reservation, and the small band that had been living in Sandusky, Ohio joined them in 1833.[17] In 1837 another group of about seventy Christian Munsies who had been living in Ontario moved to Kansas. Members of the absentee group that had been living on the Red River moved to Texas, with only a few joining the Kansas Delaware. The Delaware quickly

adjusted to their new land in Kansas, and, when Chief Anderson died in October 1831, he must have felt satisfied that his tribe seemed to be thriving in their new homes.

The unprecedented prosperity the Delaware experienced in Kansas Territory came at a price: they were increasingly assimilating into white culture. They had embraced farming as never before, the grist and sawmills were erected on their lands, the school was built where their children learned to read, write, and speak English and studied other subjects. Yet even in the face of assimilation, they maintained an awareness of the importance of their cultural identity, and it is in Kansas that they led the way in the development of Prairie-style beadwork that eventually dominated Native American clothing on the plains and prairies of the central United States until the opening decades of the twentieth century.

The journey of the Delaware Indians serves as an important illustration of the hardships faced by Native Americans after their lives were forever changed by the coming of the Europeans. The United States government continually took advantage of the Delaware, promising that each move would be the last. Missionaries backed by the War Department's Indian Agencies pressed the Delaware to accept Christianity and become farmers, giving up many of their religious beliefs and cultural practices in the process.

Despite the fact that the Delaware had become reliant on trade goods from the earliest time of contact with the white man, convincing them to live as the white man had proven difficult. They tenaciously held onto to their traditional beliefs and continued to identify with their Native culture. Even in Kansas as they adopted farming, animal husbandry, and sent their children to school, they found a way to express their

cultural identity by producing elaborately beaded clothing, especially the bandolier bags that were worn by Delaware men on special occasions. The importance of decorating their clothing as described by John Heckwelder in the eighteenth century had endured through centuries of upheaval. The Delaware were not defined by where they lived, but who they were.

Chapter 2

The History and Meaning of Native American Clothing and Personal Adornment

On their reservation in Kansas, as they saw their culture slipping away, Delaware women used the trade goods available to them to create clothing that emphasized their cultural identity in the face of assimilation. Embellishment of their clothing and other means of cultural expression were not new to the Delaware; these activities had been part of their culture long before the coming of the white man to the Americas. In order to understand the importance of Prairie-style beadwork as an exchange of aesthetic ideas and a way to produce cultural identity, it is important to examine the history of decorated clothing and personal adornment of the Delaware and other tribes in the centuries leading to the Reservation Era. In this chapter, I look specifically at the use of body paint, tattooing, quillwork, and wampum by the indigenous tribes of northeastern North America from the time of initial contact with the Europeans to the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Clothing and personal adornment were not merely decorative ornamentation, but for the Eastern Woodlands Indians the concept of adorning one's body or clothing was inextricably linked to their belief system. Native Americans believed that through dreams, visions, and heroic journeys, humans had access to mythic time and space and the powerful beings that dwelled in these spaces. "Wealth, medicine, or charms were tokens of successful encounters and ritualized reciprocal exchanges with this other world."[1] Furthermore, the creation or reaffirmation of kinship and associated responsibilities were confirmed by exchanges of gifts and manifested by the wearing of wampum beads and other forms of personal adornment.

Glass beads and other trinkets were among the first items offered as gifts to indigenous people of North America. In 1492, Columbus wrote in his log:

> In order to win the friendship and affection of that people, and because I was convinced that their conversion to our Holy Faith would be better promoted through love than through force, I presented some of them with red caps and some strings of glass beads which they placed around their necks, and with other trifles of insignificant worth that delighted them and by which we have got a wonderful hold on their affections.[2]

Columbus interpreted the Indians' acceptance of his trinkets as a sign that they could be easily converted to Christianity. Nearly a century later, the explorer Giovanni da Verrazano made this observation of the Eastern Woodlands Indians at Narragansett Bay:

> We saw upon them several pieces of wrought copper, which is more esteemed by them than gold, as this is not valued on account of its colour, but is considered by them as the most ordinary of the metals -yellow being the colour especially disliked by them; azure and red are those in highest estimation with them. Of those things which we gave them, they prized most highly the bells, azure crystals, and other toys to hang in their ears and about their necks; they do not value or care to have silk or gold stuffs, or other kinds of cloth, nor implements of steel or iron.[3]

Early explorers to the North American continent did not understand the social function and symbolic importance of personal adornment among Native Americans.

The notion that Native Americans were naïve or ignorant about the use of European goods was pervasive in the early days of contact. On Manhattan Island the Dutch recorded that when Delaware, Mohegan, and Mahican were offered goods such as axes they first wore them as ornaments around their necks and used stockings as tobacco pouches. While the Native Americans may not have known the intended use of these objects, they made sense of them by associating them with their own cultural practices. The adaptation of these objects as a means of personal adornment was a continuation of their association with wearing objects as a signifier of physical and

spiritual wealth.[4] George R. Hamell has noted that the Indians' interest in "baubles, bangles, and beads" was "an ideational response to what the Indians perceived to be different forms of symbolically-charged substances which they traditionally ascribed to otherworldly sources."[5] The European concept of wealth was based on land holdings and other property while Native Americans associated wealth with their physical, spiritual, and social well-being. Furthermore, what the Europeans viewed as trinkets, the Native Americans saw as items that could be incorporated into their manner of dress which was directly linked to their belief system.

Although examples of Delaware clothing at the time of initial contact have not survived, scholars are left with written descriptions and drawings by early explorers, missionaries, and colonizers which describe and depict the clothing worn by Native Americans. Delaware clothing and ornamentation was representative of typical dress of the indigenous people living near the eastern coast of North America. The amount of clothing worn varied depending on the time of year. In warm weather men wore breechcloths fastened about the waist with a leather thong or perhaps a snakeskin. Women wore wrap-around skirts that fell below the knee. Some wore moccasins and some shoes made from braided cornhusks; others went barefoot. Deerskins were worn draped around the shoulders, and in cold weather bear, raccoon, and beaver skin garments were worn fur side in toward the body. When it was cold, women wore capes made of turkey feathers sewn to hemp. These capes provided not only warmth but they also repelled water, keeping the wearer dry in rain and snow. Copper ornaments and tassels of hair dyed red as well as pouches made from animal skins were worn around the neck. Men wore headbands of snakeskin, feathers or feather crowns, and warriors

shaved their heads with the exception of a scalp lock.[6]

Body paint was commonly used by the Delaware and other neighboring tribes as a means of expression. It was employed by both men and women during ceremonies, mourning rituals, war, and festive occasions with red and black being the most commonly used colors. The use of such body decoration was not understood by the Europeans, leading the Dutch explorer Maarten De Vries to remark, "Their pride is to paint their faces strangely with red or black lead, so that they look like fiends" (figure 3).[7] Tattooing was used to decorate arms, legs, chests, and even faces with figures of animals, birds, and other designs. There are descriptions of other forms of adornment as well such as the splitting of the outer rims of the ears and the piercing of the septum where a porcupine quill or other ornament might be inserted. Body paint, tattooing, and other practices were discouraged and sometimes forbidden by the missionaries working among the Native Americans during the earliest days of contact. As Indians were forced to give up their practices of adorning their bodies, they continued to decorate their clothing with porcupine quills and produce beads made from shells called wampum.

On the North American continent, beads made of natural materials had long been used as a means of personal adornment. The scholar Robert K. Liu has written, "Beads were probably the first durable ornaments humans possessed, and the intimate relationship they had to their owners is reflected by the fact that they are among the most common items unearthed from ancient graves."[8] Throughout time beads have been worn as a symbol of status, been deemed to have curative powers, and used to insure the proper conduct of rituals and prayers. They have been used as the medium of exchange in barter and given monetary value for exchange of goods and land. The

Europeans exchanged glass beads for animal pelts in North America, spices in Indonesia, and for gold, ivory, and slaves in Africa.

In North America, Native Americans were making, wearing, and trading beads at least eight thousand years prior to European contact. Archeological evidence shows that Woodlands people from the Early and Middle Archaic periods (8000-3000 BCE) wore beads and pendants created from natural materials such as shell, teeth, stones, bones, and pearls. Many times these objects were produced by local artisans, but trade is evident. Beads and pendants of exotic materials were a sign of status and prestige among tribal members and are evidence of a hierarchic social system.[9]

Imported glass beads were introduced to the indigenous groups of North America at the time of initial European contact, but tribes such as the Micmac, Penobscot, Mohegan, Delaware, Powhatan, Shawnee, and Iroquois had adorned their clothing and accessories with a variety of beads for generations. For the Indians that occupied the northeast region of what would become the United States, the most important bead produced was wampum. Wampum was the small, cylindrical, centrally drilled beads of white and purple, made primarily of the quahog clamshell. These beads were strung on leather thongs or woven into belts with sinew thread. Native Americans attached special meaning to wampum and believed that it possessed sacred power.

Related to this idea of sacred power was the Indians' interest in color symbolism. White and sky blue-green were generally associated with good, red could be used to contrast life to death or to mark hostility, and black was associated with an asocial state of being.[10] Hamell has argued that:

> It is no coincidence that raven and raccoon were typecast as tricksters in myth; their black faces were sign and symbol of their socially liminal or asocial states

> of being, just like the black faces of those in vision-quest or in mourning. Whiteness, sky blue-green-ness, red-ness, and black-ness invested such entities with particular numinosity – that is with ideational, as well as with aesthetic, significance.[11]

Color symbolism was inextricably linked to the concept of physical, spiritual, and social well-being which, for Native Americans, equated to wealth. This wealth could be physically displayed through the wearing of wampum or through its social functions as gifts to the living or to the dead.

The first recorded use of wampum may date from 1497 when the French explorer Jacques Cartier wrote about shell beads he called "esurgny" that he had seen near present day Montreal; "…it is as white as any snow; they take the shells in the St. Lawrence River... Of them they make beads and wear them about the necks as we do gold, and account it the most precious thing in the world."[12]

While Cartier's account may be the first written documentation of wampum, it is not mentioned again until the seventeenth century when colonizers such as the Dutch lawyer and commentator Adriaen van der Donck described the production of wampum. "They strike off the thin parts of those shells and preserve the pillars or standards, which they grind smooth and even and reduce the same according to their thickness, and drill a hole through every piece and string the same on strings" (figure 4).[13] Van der Donck also wrote that wampum was strung and worn around the neck, wrists, and head, as well as using it to decorate clothing. He specifically noted that the lower borders of women's skirts were tastefully decorated with wampum.[14] In the 1650s, Peter Lindström recorded that Delaware Valley Indians greased their hair with bear fat so that, "it shines so that one can see one's reflection in it." Then "the locks they bind up with braids and ribbons….. On the ends of their hair they string money (wampum) and

tie a knot to (it)."[15]

In addition to the written descriptions of Native dress, visual documentation can also be found in drawings from early expeditions to North America. In the sixteenth century, artists such as Lindström and John White recorded the cultural practices and clothing of Native Americans in drawings and watercolors which were often later copied by engravers working in Europe. In 1654, Lindström drew a picture of two Delaware men and a child that clearly shows the use of wampum. The men and child each wear jewelry, sashes, belts, and headbands made from these important beads (figure 5).

After contact with the Europeans, wampum gained significance as a form of currency, a means to convey messages, and to commemorate special events. Belts of woven wampum could communicate symbolic messages signaling peace, war, and other intentions between tribes or between tribes and Europeans. A hatchet woven into the belt might indicate war while two or more figures holding hands could indicate peace or friendship. While there is no universally recognized series of hieroglyphics among Native Americans that inhabited the region, it is generally accepted that symbolism woven into wampum belts would have been easily read by other tribal groups.[16] Colors of wampum were also important signifiers. A string of white wampum was a sign of peace; if the string was tipped with a red feather it indicated the suspension of hostilities. A string of black wampum with painted red dots represented the threat of war, and black wampum beads covered with white clay relayed the news that a chief had died.[17]

The Delaware were not thought to have produced a lot of wampum but an

interesting belt attributed to them does survive (figure 6). The belt's provenance suggests that it was presented to William Penn by the Delaware at the Shackamaxon Treaty in 1682. Woven into this belt, two figures holding hands represent peace and promise between Penn and the Delaware Indians. The belt also depicts three diagonal strands of purple and white symbolizing the strength of the union, but the middle strand is broken to show the unfulfilled compact to be completed in the future.[18]

While the Delaware presented their belt to William Penn, other important wampum belts were commissioned by Americans for presentation to the Indians. The "George Washington Belt" is such an example (figure 7). George Washington commissioned the belt and presented it to the Iroquois Confederacy as a confirmation of the treaty between the Iroquois and the United States at the end of the Revolutionary War. Like the Penn belt, the representation alludes to peace and promise keeping. The thirteen larger human figures represent the thirteen states of the newly formed country. At the center of the belt two smaller figures symbolizing the Mohawk, keepers of the Eastern door, and the Seneca, keepers of the Western door, stand on either side of a structure representing a long house used by the Iroquois Confederacy.[19]

The role of wampum gained importance in early colonial America. European colonists used wampum in transactions with Indians and among themselves. It was made a legal tender in Massachusetts in November of 1637, and eventually all of the thirteen original colonies used wampum as a form of currency. The use of wampum spread throughout North America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and demand for the beads exceeded the production capacity of the Indians. European colonists began to manufacture wampum in the 1740s in order to meet demand.[20]

Wampum was only one of the decorative embellishments used by the Delaware and other tribes living in surrounding regions. Native American men wore pouches that held medicine as well as hunting and warfare tools; these bags were commonly decorated with quilled and painted designs. Unique to Native Americans, quillwork was a laborious process in which porcupine quills were softened in water, flattened, and colored with natural dyes. The quills were then sewn to hides dyed with the inner bark of black walnut or red maple trees in patterns resembling embroidery.

These quilled bags and pouches are of particular interest for this study. Not only are the designs for these bags precursors to the elaborately beaded bandolier bags of the nineteenth century, they also often depict culturally significant images of powerful religious deities such as the thunderbird and other symbolically important iconography. Later replaced by floral motifs, these images reflect the cosmological belief system of the sky realm and the underworld. Ted J. Brasser has noted that, "these images on chest pouches may have identified the social allegiance of their owners."[21] Native Americans believed that all living creatures originated from the sky or the underworld, and, "they were able to convey the spiritual powers of the ancestral lords residing in those realms."[22]

Brasser's observations of iconographic imagery can be verified through examination of an early deerskin pouch depicting both thunderbird and turtle imagery. The pouch stands out as an excellent example of the quillwork that was produced by the Delaware and other tribal groups during the eighteenth century (figure 8). Here the artist has incorporated images of humans, the thunderbird deity, and the symbolically important turtle. On the triangular flap of the pouch, a turtle hovers above two human

figures holding hands with a floral design below. The main body of the pouch is adorned with two thunderbirds which are depicted just above a multi-colored band of quillwork. Below the bands of quills are motifs of six circles, three beneath each thunderbird and undulating lines that cross the expanse of the front of the pouch. Two turtles, one on each side, are represented at the lower edge while red-dyed hair inserted into metal cones hangs from the bottom of the pouch.

The pouch can be read as representing the cosmological belief system of many Native Americans including the Delaware. The thunderbirds represent the above world, turtles can be found in both the underworld of the water as well as dwelling on land, and humans live on the land and can only enter the realms of the sky or underworld through dreams and visions. While this bag has not been attributed to a specific tribe, the turtle was an important symbol for the Delaware who believed the earth emerged from the water on the back of a turtle, reemphasizing the importance of the iconography depicted on this pouch.

Throughout the eighteenth century, quillwork remained the most important decorative embellishment among many tribal groups, but as glass beads became more readily available Native American artists began to incorporate them into their objects of personal adornment. By the mid-nineteenth century quillwork had fallen out of favor among most Native Americans who increasingly combined their own aesthetic sensibility with Euro-American trade goods to create elaborately beaded objects. Beads continued to be an important gift and item of exchange between the white man and Native Americans. While early explores such as Columbus and Giovanni da Verrazano used beads and other objects as items of exchange, it was the fur trade that led to wide

spread use of European trade goods and the eventual predominance of using glass beads as a method of decorative embellishment among Native Americans.

As early as 1675, traders began to exchange glass beads for animal pelts. These beads were commonly referred to as pony beads, possibly because they were transported by trader's horses. Due to the manufacturing process, the first beads to be traded were often irregular in size. However, standardized manufacturing processes developed in Venice and Bohemia added consistency to their manufacture. By 1840, the process of manufacturing glass beads had been further refined making it possible to produce beads two millimeters and smaller in diameter. Because of their small size these beads were commonly referred to as seed beads, and when they became available in quantity, the adornment of clothing and other objects created by Native Americans underwent significant change.

Values for trade beads varied by location; at the Hudson's Bay Company one pound of beads could be traded for one beaver pelt. In some regions particular colors of beads were highly prized. In 1860 at Sault Sainte Marie, a six foot string of small blue beads could be traded for one beaver skin. A red bead known as *Cornaline d'Aleppo*, or "*Hudson Bay bead"* was highly valued with an exchange rate of six beads to one beaver skin.[23] Color availability and trade values can be linked to cost and profit for the traders, but many Native American tribes continued to place cultural value on specific colors related to their interest in color symbolism.

First used for stringing necklaces, glass beads were most widely available in black, white, and blue. These colors were cheaper to produce thus providing a greater profit to the trader, but Lois Dubin has also argued that black, white, and blue were

possibly reminiscent of white and purple wampum beads, making them desirable trade items in colors that held cultural significance among Native Americans.[24] Tribes such as the Micmac used white beads almost exclusively when creating their double curve motifs because of the symbolic association with goodness and well-being that white held (figure 9).

When pony beads began to be used as decoration for clothing and other objects, beadworkers often limited their use to open curvilinear designs or used them in combination with quillwork. Tribes such as the Ho-Chunk used pony beads to embellish saddle blankets (figure 10). In an example from the nineteenth century, the four corners of the saddle blanket are embellished with pony beads using floral motifs and a restricted color palette of pink and green. Before Native American beadworkers used seed beads to create elaborately beaded bags, they used limited amounts of pony beads in combination with quillwork. An interesting example of this can be seen in a Delaware shoulder bag from the late eighteenth century (figure 11). In this bag, the artist created geometric designs in quillwork on a hide pouch, but the strap is embellished with pony beads. The bag is also decorated with red-dyed hair inserted into metal cones. The color red had significant ideational and aesthetic interests among the Delaware and other Native American tribes. Red was a socially-ambivalent color that could be interpreted as either socially positive in situations such as comparing life to death or socially negative when contrasting hostility to harmony.[25] The use of metal cones was also important. Not only were movement and sound important to Native Americans, the reflectivity of metallic objects was associated with the brightness of the color white and its

relationship to spiritual well-being. Interestingly, the use of red-dyed hair (and later red yarn) and metal cones remained a decorative embellishment on many Delaware bandolier bags throughout the nineteenth century.

As seed beads became more available, beadworkers took advantage of their aesthetic properties using them exclusively as their decorative material of choice. Delaware beadwork of the early nineteenth century used floral motifs as well as other design elements, but the quantity of beads, abstract designs, and vibrant color palette used in the Prairie style were not yet developed. The transition to the use of seed beads and the incorporation of floral designs can be seen in an example of an early nineteenth-century coat created by a Delaware or Shawnee beadworker. The artist embroidered floral designs onto a hide coat accented with fringe. The cuffs, hemline, waistline, and collar of the coat are decorated with simple, repeating floral patterns in blue, light blue, yellow, red, green, and black beads with some designs outlined with a row of white beads. The restrained design is an excellent example of early use of seed beads (figure 12). In another example of a beaded coat dated to 1840-1860, the beadworker has again limited the number of beads used to decorate the coat; however, the emergence of the Prairie style can also be seen (figure 13). Abstract floral motifs in blue, light blue, pink, and burgundy are repeated around the bottom edge of the coat; these designs are no longer open curvilinear forms, but instead they are fully formed floral designs which continued to be implemented by beadworkers throughout the nineteenth century.

The availability of glass beads is one component that led to a change in decorative embellishment and the eventual domination of beadwork as a decorative

technique. The other major change occurred with the adoption of cotton and wool fabrics. Since the earliest days of contact, the Delaware and other tribes held European fabrics and clothing in high regard, and cloth was among the earliest goods traded to the Indians. According to Herbert C. Kraft:

> The Indians became fascinated by exotic cotton hose, tailored shirts in bright colors, cloth mantles, and ribbons, and, as a result, textiles became important trade items. At first, red cloth was preferred because of its brightness and because red was a ceremonial color among the Indians. This taste soon changed to more somber hues… a coarsely woven cloth called duffel was prized more than bearskin robes. Two hundred pieces of blue or gray duffel could bring a return of ten thousand skins.[26]

In the nineteenth century deerskin hides continued to be used in the production of moccasins and some other objects of personal adornment, but articles of clothing were increasingly made from woven cloth. The Delaware and other Native American groups used these fabrics as a canvas for their beadwork. Beads were embroidered onto bandolier bags, breechcloths, blankets, sashes, leggings and other articles of clothing.

Native Americans including the Delaware had a long and established history of embellishing their clothing. Ornamentation of the body and clothing were not only decorative, their use was culturally and socially symbolic. The wearing of wampum, quillwork decoration, and color symbolism were used as an expression of Native American physical and spiritual well-being which were valued as a form of wealth among Eastern Woodlands Indians. Assimilation of Native Americans increased as they were moved to reservations west of the Mississippi, but in order to maintain a sense of Native American identity, artists increasingly used trade goods such as cloth and glass beads as a way to express their Indianess.

Chapter 3

The Development and Dissemination of Prairie-style Beadwork

The lives of the Delaware had been greatly affected by the coming of the white man to North America. Their population was decimated by diseases brought by Europeans. They were forced from their homelands, and endured the ravages of war. They had become dependent on trade goods, and they had lost many of their cultural practices through acculturation and assimilation. Despite all of these forces working against them, in the nineteenth century, the Delaware Indians still maintained their cultural identity through the production of decorated clothing and other objects of personal adornment that identified them as Indians.

Having established the complex history of the Delaware people and their use of decoration on clothing and body adornment both before and after European contact, this chapter examines the history of the Delaware in Kansas and how that experience led to the development of the Prairie style. I will discuss techniques used by beadworkers and the design elements that make this beadwork so stylistically identifiable. Prairie-style beadwork by the Delaware and other tribes will be examined to show their similarities and differences.

To gain a full understanding of the development of the Prairie style in Kansas it is important to take a closer look at the disruption of cultural practices and the further attempts at assimilation that impacted the Delaware in the nineteenth century. In 1830, President Andrew Jackson signed the Indian Removal Act leading to the forced migration of Native Americans onto reservations west of the Mississippi River. This event has been most prominently told in the story of the Cherokee and other southeastern tribes that were forced to march across the "Trail of Tears." Less well

known is the history of the tribes of the Old Northwest Territory who were coerced into surrendering their lands and move west.[1] As seen in chapter one, tribes such as the Delaware had been pushed out of their homelands during early contact with Europeans, and they moved west of the Mississippi before the Indian Removal Act was signed into law. From the 1820s through the 1840s more than ten thousand Indians relocated to reservations along the wooded streams and rivers of eastern Kansas, at the edge of the western prairie.[2]

The Delaware had gone willingly to their Kansas reservation where, under the influence of missionaries, Indian agents, and the leadership of Chief Anderson, they embraced living like the white man more than ever before. Many Indians began to farm, raise livestock, and willingly sent their children to school where they were taught English and other subjects by white teachers. By the 1840s, several religious groups had established missions in Kansas; each seemed to work with a specific tribal group. The Methodists preached to the Shawnee, the Baptists worked among the Delaware and Ottawa, and the Catholics built St. Mary's Mission for the Potawatomi. As advocates of the government's civilization program, preachers agreed that Indians should assimilate. They were also strong advocates for the dissolution of Native religious practices and the adoption of white man's clothing. Many white people believed that the bandolier bags, breechcloths, moccasins, blankets, paints, and jewelry worn by Native Americans reinforced their ancient traditions, superstitions, and customs thus interfering with their advancement in civilization.

By the late 1850s, men of the Delaware and other tribes living in Kansas were still wearing clothing that identified them as Indians. In 1859, the social evolutionist

Lewis Henry Morgan wrote a detailed description of and commentary on Delaware Indian dress that he observed as they gathered to receive their annuity payments in Kansas.

> There were many good faces among them, and also well dressed Indians who speak our language and have the manners and address of gentlemen. Some of the old men had on colored calico frock coats of the most gaudy colors. Many had vermilion on their faces, thus giving them a low appearance, and I saw a few girls with spots of it on their cheeks. One man I saw with a silver ornament in his nose, which covered part of his mouth. Many of the men wore leggings with a wide side projection, ornamented, and the breech cloth, over which they wore a vest or shirts, and perhaps one of the frock coats of calico above named, with head bands [straps] of bead work over the shoulder and meeting in a large bead work pocket on the right hand side.[3]

Morgan's account not only recorded what Delaware men were wearing, but it also provides us with insight into the prevailing consensus that Indians who continued to express their Native American identity through clothing were less civilized, resulting in what Morgan described as an "absurd and ridiculous" appearance.[4]

Despite the most ardent efforts of the government and missionaries to "civilize" the Indians, many Delaware and members of other tribes held on to their religious beliefs and began to wear elaborately beaded clothing, particularly during ceremonies and other special occasions. I argue that there are several contributing factors that led to this resistance and to the development of what came to be known as Prairie-style beadwork.

There is little doubt that many Delaware felt animosity toward the government. For centuries they had entered into treaties only to have them broken. Their lands had been taken from them, and relocation to new "permanent" lands was only a temporary solution. After negotiating to be moved from their reservation in Missouri to new lands in Kansas, white settlers and the railroads continued to covet lands set aside for the

Delaware. By the late 1840s, American citizens had reached the Missouri River and pressure mounted to move the Indians out of the way of progress. In 1854, Congress passed the Kansas-Nebraska Act and both territories were opened to settlers. This further strained the lives of the Native Americans living in Kansas. The greed of the white man surely seemed never ending, and as increasing numbers of white settlers moved into Kansas Territory competition for tribal lands intensified. Even some missionaries plotted against the Indians as Catholic and Protestant preachers fought for control over various tribes.[5]

In Kansas there were not only conflicts between the Delaware and land-hungry settlers, the newly immigrated tribes were also adjusting to interaction with the indigenous tribes of the region. When the tribes of the Old Northwest were moved to their reservations west of the Mississippi they sometimes found themselves at odds with tribes such as Osage, Kaw, and Pawnee as the introduction of new tribal groups led to competition for hunting and gathering grounds.

By the time they reached their Kansas reservation, the Delaware had been displaced for nearly two centuries. In Kansas, they were surrounded by tribes such as the Shawnee, Miami, and Wyandot, who had been their neighbors and allies as they had been pushed westward across the United States. They were also being exposed to new art and cultures of the tribes already living in Kansas, and they continued to face the challenges of living among white settlers. These factors in combination with the continued stripping away of their individual cultural identities can leave little doubt as to why these dispossessed people would find strength in numbers leading to the exchange of ideas and the development of a new intertribal style of beadwork. The

reservations of the plains and prairies became a "melting pot of diverse Native American art traditions."[6] Government attempts to destroy Native culture had been met with resistance, and intensified intertribal contact led to the creation of Prairie-style beadwork. This iconic beadwork created in Kansas, Oklahoma, Nebraska, Iowa, and Wisconsin was produced by both the newly immigrated tribes and the indigenous tribes of the region.

With beadwork replacing quillwork as the primary way to embellish clothing and other objects, there was also a shift in the designs and motifs used by beadworkers. As noted in chapter two, quillwork often depicted culturally significant imagery, but in the nineteenth century floral patterns became a commonly used design element among a number of tribes. Beadwork was also used for gift-giving and intertribal trade leading to merging and reinterpretation of styles. For instance, Dubin argues that "the iconography and floral motifs of the eastern Delaware and southeastern Woodlands Cherokee were transformed into the stylized motifs and floral patterns of the prairie Potawatomi"[7] (figure 14).

In the nineteenth century, as seed beads became more readily available, Native American beadworkers across the United States honed their skills and developed the techniques that allowed them to create elaborately beaded clothing. Some beadworkers chose to weave their beaded designs on a loom while others used sewing techniques. Prairie-style beadwork used the sewing method of spot or overlay stitch. This method of applying beads allowed an artist to cover large surfaces of fabric and create curvilinear floral patterns. Using this technique, the beads are threaded on a string and laid out into the desired position, often following the lines of a pattern. The artist then

attaches the beaded design to the fabric by using another thread to stitch between every second or third bead (figure 15). The technique of spot stitch appliqué offers a strong contrast to loom-woven beadwork. Loomed beadwork produces a flat smooth plane of geometric angular designs. The spot stitch technique allows the artist to apply beads in long strands of curvilinear designs and organic forms (figures 16 and 17).

Although floral designs were used by Native Americans as early as the eighteenth century, these designs did not reach their full potential and wide-spread use until the second half of the nineteenth century. David W. Penney has noted that "the term floral style refers to applied ornament – most often in porcupine quill, moose hair, glass bead, or silk floss embroidery, but also in silk ribbon appliqué and even loom woven beadwork – that employs the images of plants and flowers as the predominant motif."[8]

Generations of anthropologists and historians have tried to determine the origins of Native Americans' use of floral designs. Frank Speck argued that these designs developed from the double curve motif popular on the East Coast while Marius Barbeau believed that they developed through the embroidery taught to Indian girls at mission schools as early as the seventeenth century.[9] While some might argue that floral designs adopted by Native Americans were inspired by their relationship to the natural world, Dubin and Penney have written persuasively that these motifs most likely derived from floral designs on western fabrics.

Inexpensive printed floral fabrics called calicoes were frequently used by Native Americans in making clothing such as blouses, dresses, and shirts, and to line bandolier bags, and, perhaps most importantly, they may have been using these designs as an

inspiration for the floral motifs found in their beadwork (figure 18). Susan Power has written specifically on calico fabrics as an influence on the floral designs found on nineteenth-century bandolier bags. In her visual analysis of the *Jackson-Houston Bandolier Bag* which has been attributed to a Cherokee artist and dates from the early nineteenth century, she specifically notes that, "the floral pattern of the calico lining has been elaborated into an even more intriguing design composition for the bag, flap, and strap" [10] (figure 19). The origins of floral designs in Native American beadwork continue to be debated, but perhaps the importance of floral imagery is found not in its origins but by asking why Native Americans chose to incorporate these designs into their beadwork.

In considering the influence of western fabrics on Native American beadwork, David W. Penney has argued the word *influence* is inadequate when addressing the origins of floral designs because it does not account for artistic choices or motivation.[11] Beadworkers were making conscious decisions in their use of floral designs as Native American clothing in the nineteenth century pitted civilization against savagery. As Indians continued to assimilate they frequently chose to dress in western clothing, but at the same time they increasingly participated in a wide variety of special events and ceremonies where their ethnic identities could be expressed. Dress clothing worn on these occasions became signifiers of Indian ethnicity. When Native American women used floral patterns in the ornamentation of formal dress, they transformed western influence into cultural resistance.[12]

In the second half of the nineteenth century, floral motifs were used by a large number of tribes in a wide variation of artistic styles. Tribes such as the Ojibwe created

elaborately beaded leggings, breechcloths, vests, and bandolier bags, and their floral designs tended to be naturalistic. A pair of Ojibwe leggings from about 1890 depicts flowers that are identifiable by specific species and arranged on serpentine stems with green leaves (figure 20). Bandolier bags from the Great Lakes region were almost fully beaded with wide straps and oversized pouches. In a bag that has been attributed to either the Ojibwe or Ho-Chunk, the pouch is decorated with large-scale, stylized leaves, flowers, and fruit that hang from a curving vine. Colors are relatively naturalistic utilizing various shades of green, yellow, pink, purple, red, and blue. The background of the pouch is fully beaded in horizontal rows of spot-stitched white beads. The strap is beaded with asymmetrical floral designs on sinuous vines against an unbeaded background (figure 21).

Like the Ojibwe and other Great Lakes tribes, the northern Athapaskan who occupied the Canadian and Alaskan subarctic produced beadwork ornamented with floral motifs. Beaded objects included baby carrying belts, moss bags (cradles), hunting bags, dog blankets, and tobacco pouches. While most of these objects were made for indigenous use, they also produced items that were sold and traded along local trading routes. In the Great Slave Lake/Mackenzie River region, Athapaskan floral forms were elaborate and characterized by complex asymmetrical arrangements applied using the spot stitch method. Their floral designs were often built up of successive layers with a central flower surrounded by additional petals and leaves creating a complex core from which smaller-scale elements radiate (figure 22).[13]

The above examples present an interesting contrast to the abstract floral designs that were prevalent in Prairie-style beadwork, but it is the bandolier bags of the

southeastern Woodlands tribes that, perhaps, had the greatest influence on the beadwork that developed in Indian Territory during the nineteenth century. Indian removal to reservations west of the Mississippi River brought the Delaware into contact with tribes such as the Creek, Seminole, and Cherokee, and exposure to their beadwork is visible in the development of Delaware bags. Beadwork of the southeastern tribes featured curvilinear design elements and asymmetrical patterns rooted in iconography of Woodlands and Mississippian cultures of the past.[14] A Cherokee bag dated 1838 exemplifies some of the features that can also be seen in Delaware bandolier bags. Design elements such as the width of the strap and pouch are comparable to bags produced by the Delaware. Other influences can be seen in the use of curvilinear designs, asymmetry, and the bright color palette of glass seed beads floating against dark wool trade cloth (figure 23). Additionally, if we return to Power's interpretation of the *Jackson-Houston Bandolier Bag* we can see that both the Cherokee and Delaware artists were looking at calico fabrics as an inspiration for their beaded designs.

Although the Ojibwe and other tribes created floral style beadwork, Prairie-style work is identified by its use of abstracted floral motifs that are beaded using a vibrant color palette with designs outlined in a single or sometimes multiple rows of white beads. The Delaware are often cited as being influential in the development and dissemination of the Prairie style, and their fully beaded bandolier bags stand out as some of the most elaborate clothing produced during the second half of the nineteenth century. However, Prairie-style beadwork did not develop suddenly; it came into being over time.

From the time of contact to the beginning of the nineteenth century, Delaware

women continued to use quillwork as a primary decorative technique, but as seed beads became more readily available, Delaware women began to use the spot stitch technique to apply seed beads to bandolier bags and other objects. In an example dated to the first half of the nineteenth century, the beadworker has embellished the shoulder straps of a bandolier bag with abstracted designs and balanced but asymmetrical patterns. On the left strap a paisley design alternates with a circular floral form, while the right strap is decorated with cross and double curve motifs. The use of the double curve is of interest here, as it was commonly employed by tribes such as the Micmac who lived north of the Delaware's original homelands on the East Coast, and shows an exchange of designs dating to an earlier time period. The square pouch and the red yarn inserted into metal cones are reminiscent of the quillwork bags of northeastern Woodlands tribes. Geometric patterns on the pouch, the triple tabs projecting from each end of the strap, and silk ribbon edging are design elements that continued to be used throughout the nineteenth century (figure 24).

As the art of beadwork progressed, Delaware women began to exploit their technique to its fullest potential. Bags became fully beaded with a vibrant color palette. While the Delaware were influenced by the bandolier bags created by the southeastern Woodlands tribes such as the Creek, Seminole, and Cherokee, their identity is retained in several details such as the predominant use of pink and powder blue beads, the dense patterning of abstract floral elements, thick offset straps that generally have three tabs, and a relatively small square pouch (figure 25).

Unlike the bandolier bags of the Ojibwe whose naturalistic flowers emerge from undulating vines and stems, Delaware bags are fully beaded and their large abstract

floral motifs fill the entire strap. In the Prairie style, Delaware women filled in the background of their bags with contrasting colors, creating active "negative" design elements in the intervening spaces. While the decorative motifs of Delaware bandolier bags were generally composed of abstract floral designs and geometric patterns, there are a few extant examples that are reminiscent of the quillwork bags that depicted culturally relevant figurative imagery. Of particular note is a bandolier bag that depicts two thunderbirds on the pouch. This bag incorporates all of the elements that make it identifiable as Prairie style; yet, the artist included the thunderbirds as an important reference to the cosmological belief system of her ancestors (figure 26).

While the use of thunderbirds on this bag can be easily read as a reference to earlier traditions, we should also consider the importance of color symbolism that is common among Delaware bandolier bags. Returning to Hamell's argument concerning the importance of color among Eastern Woodlands Indians, the prominent use of white and powder blue beads found on Delaware bandolier bags may very well be reminiscent of the pre-contact importance of these culturally significant colors and their representation of physical and spiritual well-being.

Although bandolier bags may be the most striking and written about examples of Prairie-style beadwork, Prairie-style designs can be seen on moccasins, breechcloths, leggings, coats, cradleboards, and other objects of personal adornment. Native Americans had been making and wearing moccasins since well before European contact, and they continued to do so throughout the nineteenth century. Moccasins beaded in the Prairie style are exemplary of the variation that can be found in this significant style. Delaware moccasins were not fully beaded; instead, most have a

beaded vamp with smaller amounts of beads embellishing cuffs which were often covered with velvet or satin fabric. Like bandolier bags, Delaware moccasins use the spot stitch technique to create curvilinear floral designs and organic patterns (figure 27). In an example from the late nineteenth century, a single flower floating on a field of pink is beaded on the toe of the moccasin. The green velvet cuffs, trimmed with pink ribbon, are embellished with repeating patterns of triangles and arches in a single row of white beads (figure 28). Frank Speck speculated that the white beaded designs as seen on these Delaware moccasins can be traced to double curve motifs and could possibly be interpreted as geographical and celestial representations.[15] While I maintain the primary source for Prairie-style designs is rooted in printed calico fabrics, I do think that Speck's arguments regarding the double curve and its influence on nineteenth-century bead designs is of interest, and should be given further consideration in future studies of Native American beadwork.

While Delaware moccasins were less heavily beaded, moccasins by tribes such as the Meskwaki, Sauk, and Iowa were often completely covered in floral and geometric designs on the vamp and cuffs. A pair of moccasins by a Meskwaki beadworker is a good example of fully beaded moccasins. On the vamp and outside cuffs of these moccasins, abstract floral designs in yellow, light blue, black, and pink float against panels of red and blue beads. The outside cuffs are decorated in a multi-colored checkerboard pattern, and all designs are outlined in white (figure 29). The use of asymmetrical cuffs is reminiscent of the asymmetry of straps on Delaware bags, and the checkerboard pattern was a common design element on their pouches.

While Delaware bags and Meskwaki moccasins were frequently fully beaded,

variations of the Prairie style were implemented by a number of tribes. For instance, many beadworkers decorated leggings and breechcloths with abstracted floral patterns outlined in rows of white beads, but the asymmetrical and fully beaded designs are replaced by symmetrical or mirrored patterns. In a pair of late nineteenth-century leggings by a Potawatomi artist, the beadworker used spot stitch appliqué on navy blue stroud cloth to decorate only the outside edge of the fabric (figure 30). On these leggings the beadworker has used mirrored images of the abstracted floral patterns in red, yellow, green, and light blue which are outlined in rows of white beads.

Breechcloths had been worn by Native American men for centuries, and they continued to be worn through the nineteenth century. Breechcloths decorated in the Prairie style are similar in design to leggings. Seed beads of floral designs were spot stitched onto wool fabric with symmetrical and or bi-lateral asymmetrical patterns. A breechcloth by a Meskwaki beadworker features two panels of beadwork that do not mirror, but complement each other (figure 31). When we compare the breechcloth and leggings to bandolier bags or moccasins there is an identifiable continuity to the Prairie style, but variations were developed as this intertribal style that spread from Kansas to other parts of Indian Territory.

As ideas and beadwork were exchanged during the second half of the nineteenth century, tribes like the Otoe-Missouria used design elements of Prairie style to embellish their clothing with the religious iconography of the Faw Faw religion (figure 30). In the late nineteenth century as Native Americans were moved onto reservations, many Indian leaders introduced new religious movements. The Faw Faw religion was started by William Faw Faw who had experienced a vision while recovering from an

illness. In his vision two young men told him he would get well and gave him a spiritual message. As the men in his vision spoke, a cedar tree grew and singing birds flew about them. Religious ceremonies based on this vision included the planting of cedar trees, tobacco offerings, gift exchanges, presents to the poor, and specific combinations of designs on clothing.[16] Imagery on coats and shirts worn by practitioners of this religion depict birds, cedar trees, stars, horses, buffalo skulls, and human figures, all of which are representations of either Faw Faw's vision or connected to his religious ceremonies. Beadworkers who created clothing related to the Faw Faw religion adapted Prairie-style techniques and designs, including abstracted designs outlined in rows of white beads, and the use of the spot stitch method. Religious movements of the nineteenth century commonly brought about changes to clothing. This can be seen in revivalist and religious movements such as the Ghost Dance. Beadworkers used the intertribal Prairie style as the inspiration for the Faw Faw movement's unique clothing designs.

Clothing associated with the Faw Faw religion was not the only instance in which Prairie-style designs were incorporated into objects connected with Native American cultural beliefs. In the Great Lakes area, tribes such as the Ojibwe, Meskwaki, and Ho-Chunk participated in rituals associated with the Midéwiwin or Grand Medicine Society. Native Americans associated with this society fashioned otter and other small animal skins into decorated medicine bags called pinjigosauns (figure 33). These medicine bags were slit on the underside of the animal skin which provided an opening where the wearer stored medicine, herbs, and other items utilized in the Midéwiwin.[17] The bags were decorated with panels of porcupine quills or elaborate

Prairie-style beadwork attached to the paws and tails of the animals. Once again, the common elements used by the beadworkers were spot stitch, abstract floral patterns in pink, light blue, blue, red, green, and yellow outlined in white beads. From the Kansas prairie to the Great Lakes, Prairie-style beadwork was used by Native Americans as a continued means of cultural expression, and for tribes such as the Otoe-Missouria, Ho-Chunk, and others, Prairie-style beadwork embellished clothing related to tribal specific religions and cultural practices.

A variation of the Prairie style was also used by the Kiowa who, in the nineteenth century, lived on a reservation in southwest Oklahoma. While the majority of Delaware were living in Kansas a small band lived near the Kiowa. These absentee Delaware influenced the beadwork of this Plains tribe who produced lavish fully beaded cradleboards. These cradleboards were given to mothers as a way to establish and maintain kinship bonds and were a great source of pride for the families that received them (figure 34). Such cradleboards blend Plains artistic aesthetics with the Prairie style. Boldly colored abstract floral motifs are set against a background of contrasting color and, although the cradleboard is fully beaded, there is no use of negative design space. Kiowa beadworkers were influenced by the Delaware, but they took elements of the Prairie style and made it their own. Another interesting example of this merging of styles is found in a pair of moccasins which may have also been produced by a Kiowa beadworker (figure 35). Design and materials used in this pair of moccasins are clearly of southern plains origin, but the vamp design is similar to the moccasin designs of the Delaware. The abstract floral design is interesting because of its bilateral beadwork in green and blue that splits the center of the flower. Additionally,

the beadworker outlined the flower in a row of white beads.

As Native Americans continued to express their cultural identity through beadwork, artists were also exploring the use of other trade goods as decorative materials. In the nineteenth century, women of the Osage, Potawatomi, Sauk, Meskwaki, Omaha, Ho-Chunk, and other tribes began to incorporate ribbonwork into their clothing. In this method of decoration, ribbon was folded, stitched, and sewn to clothing using geometric patterns and abstract floral motifs that were in many ways similar to Prairie-style beadwork (figure 36). In this photograph a young Indian girl stands next to a Prairie-style beaded wearing blanket, but she also wears a skirt decorated with elaborate ribbonwork that features both abstract floral patterns and the use of negative design space similar to fully beaded Delaware bags. It is evident that Prairie-style beadwork influenced many Native American artists who were occupying reservations from the Great Lakes to the Southern Plains.

Prairie-style beadwork is recognizable by its use of abstract floral motifs and geometric patterns. While there are deviations in the colors used by artists, the primary color palette is pink, powder blue, blue, dark blue, red, burgundy, green, apple green, yellow, black, and white. The white beads used to outline Prairie-style motifs are of particular interest. If we return to the discussion of color symbolism in the history of Native American adornment, white can be read as a continuation of the importance of color that dates to before contact with the Europeans. Associated with physical and spiritual well-being, the use of white beads to outline designs used in Prairie-style beadwork may be a continuation of symbolic color use among Native Americans.

Intertribal exchanges led to a merging and reinterpretation of the Prairie style as

it spread from the reservations of Kansas north to the Great Lakes and south to the Southern Plains. Each tribal group incorporated Prairie-style beadwork into their clothing, but variations of style are clearly evident. Additionally, tribes used these decorative elements to embellish a wide array of objects and clothing which sometimes had specific use as seen in the pinjigosauns used by the Midéwiwin, the clothing of the Faw Faw religion, or in Kiowa cradleboards that were used as special gifts as a signifier of pride and love. Although Native Americans used the Prairie style as a way to produce their culture and express their Indian identity, there are marked differences in the way that beadworkers used the design elements of this style and made them their own.

Conclusion

The purpose of this paper has been to examine the role played by the Delaware in the development of Prairie-style beadwork. In my introduction, I argued that they were instrumental in the development and dissemination of this important artistic form that dominated the beadwork of many tribes during the second half of the nineteenth century. I further stated that the Delaware's long history of migration and their long standing relationships with other tribal groups were important factors in this process. The relationship between Prairie style and the Delaware is not a new idea as many scholars have argued that this relationship existed; however, there has generally been very little supporting evidence to back this claim. In order support this theory, I reviewed the history and migration of the Delaware, examined the history of clothing and personal adornment of Native Americans, and looked at specific examples of Prairie-style beadwork in order to see the similarities and variations of this important and very recognizable intertribal art form.

The Delaware Indians were considered to be the "grandfathers" of the Algonquian speaking Eastern Woodlands Indians with their original name Lenape translating to "real people." At the time of European contact, the Delaware lived in small villages scattered throughout what are now the states of New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and Pennsylvania. Their early contact with Europeans had immediate and far reaching effects on their lives as they were forced to abandon their homes and move further into the frontier. Through a series of wars and broken treaties, the Delaware were pushed across the United States until they settled permanently in northeastern Oklahoma.

Over the course of nearly two centuries, these displaced people sought to

maintain their own cultural identity, and, when they were moved to their reservation in Kansas, Delaware women combined their aesthetics with the trade goods of woven cloth and glass beads to create elaborately beaded clothing as a form of resistance to assimilation and reinforcement of their ethnic identity.

Before European contact, Native Americans including the Delaware had decorated their bodies and their clothing as a symbol of physical and spiritual well-being which was inextricably linked to their cultural practices and concepts of wealth. In the nineteenth century, Delaware women continued this tradition by producing elaborately beaded clothing that became a symbol of the well-being of the tribe. Although their culture underwent significant change as a result of contact with the white man, the Delaware and other tribes produced elaborately beaded clothing as a sign of Indian solidarity and a way to produce Native American culture.

The beadwork created by the Delaware in Kansas is identified by its vibrant color palette, abstracted floral motifs and geometric designs outlined in a single or multiple rows of white beads. The common use of white beads among many tribes is interesting, given the significance of white as it relates to its traditional association with spiritual health, well-being, and wealth. Prairie-style beadwork, as it has come to be known, was eventually adopted by Native American beadworkers living on reservations from the Great Lakes to the Southern Plains. I argue that Delaware beadworkers played a key role in the development of Prairie-style beadwork. Their influence is related to three key factors. First, the Delaware held the respect of the Eastern Woodlands tribes who regarded them as the original Algonquian speaking people. Throughout their migration, many of these tribes remained in contact with one another, and beadworkers

from these groups eventually embellished their clothing with variations on Prairie-style designs. Second, while the majority of Delaware Indians remained together during their migration, small bands resided with other tribes such as the absentee Delaware living among the Kiowa in Oklahoma. This led to the dissemination of the Prairie style beyond the reservations of Kansas. The third factor centers on the Delaware's resistance to assimilation. The Delaware were among the first tribes who interacted with European explorers and colonizers, and, from that time forward, they underwent significant culture change. Yet, in Kansas, as they increasingly adopted living as the white man, they continued to identify themselves as Native Americans by adopting new forms of personal adornment. The importance of personal adornment and clothing in their manner of dress dates to the pre-contact period, and their efforts to continue this practice were adopted by other tribes living on reservations west of the Mississippi.

Delaware women excelled at creating fully beaded bandolier bags that were worn by men at ceremonies and on other special occasions, but other tribes used the design elements common to the Prairie style to create their own variations of this important intertribal art. Prairie-style beadwork was used to decorate a wide variety of clothing and other objects including moccasins, breechcloths, leggings, coats, shirts, robes, medicine bags, and horse tack. As the Prairie style developed, tribes adapted it to suit their own needs, and individual identity is clearly evident. Among the Delaware this can be seen in their use of pink and powder blue, large abstract floral motifs, the use of asymmetry and negative design space, and fully beaded bandolier bags. Breechcloths and leggings produced by a number of tribes maintained the use of abstract floral patterns, but these designs were not fully beaded; instead, beadwork

floats on an unbeaded background of wool trade cloth. On the southern plains, Kiowa artists blended their aesthetics with boldly colored floral motifs set against contrasting backgrounds of blue, green or red. The Otoe-Missouria and beadworkers from the Great Lakes used the Prairie style as an expression of their religious beliefs and cultural practices, and women artists of the Potawatomi, Osage, Miami, and other tribes converted Prairie-style beaded designs of abstract floral motifs and geometric patterns into elaborate ribbonwork.

A lack of documentation regarding Prairie-style beadwork makes the study of this important art form difficult. Anthropologists of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century collected examples of Prairie-style beadwork, but failed to collect information about specific artists, the use of specific designs, or color preferences. The scholars that followed have been forced to look at a variety of factors as they attempt to explain the importance of *floral style* adopted by most tribes during the nineteenth century. Reconstructing the historical events that led to the development of Prairie-style beadwork has not been an easy task, but there is evidence that supports the thesis that Delaware women played a significant role in the development and dissemination of Prairie-style beadwork.[1]

Throughout the nineteenth century Native American women of the Plains and Prairie participated in the long-standing tradition of producing clothing for their families. Young girls learned the skills of sewing and beadwork from their mothers and grandmothers, creating some of the most recognizable artwork of Native American culture. European contact forever changed the lives of the Delaware and all Native Americans. Introduction of European trade goods usurped the Delaware's traditional

way of creating clothing and the art of personal adornment. Yet, the Delaware and other tribes utilized these materials to create new forms of artistic and cultural expression. In Kansas when pressed ever harder to accept the ways of white men, Delaware women embraced their complex history, intertribal relations, and western trade goods to create the innovative and distinct beadwork that came to be known as the Prairie style.

Figure 1: *William Penn's Treaty with the Indians*, Benjamin West, c. 1771
oil on canvas, Collection of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts

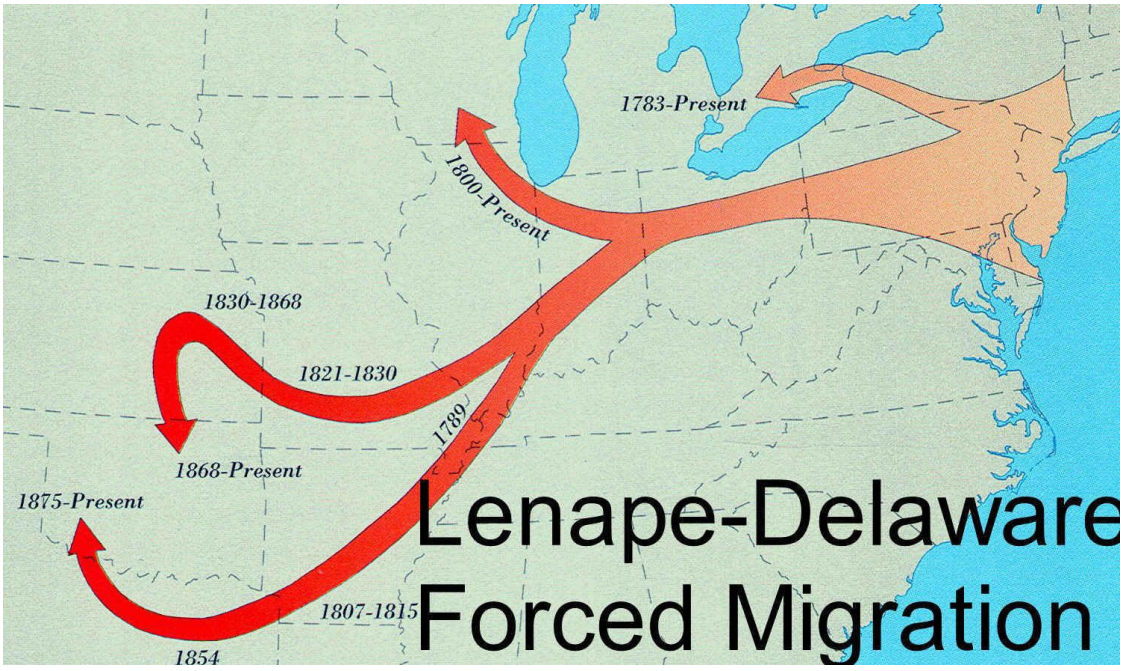

Figure 2: Map – Forced Migration of the Delaware

Figure 3: *Native American Man Painted for the Hunt*, Theodore de Bry, 1585-1593 engraving after John White, Collection of the British Museum

Figure 4: *String of Wampum*, Algonquian, c. 1800, wampum shell beads Collection of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology

Figure 5: *Two Delaware Indian Men and a Boy,* Thomas Campanius Holm, 1702 engraving after Peter Lindström, Collection of the American Philosophical Society

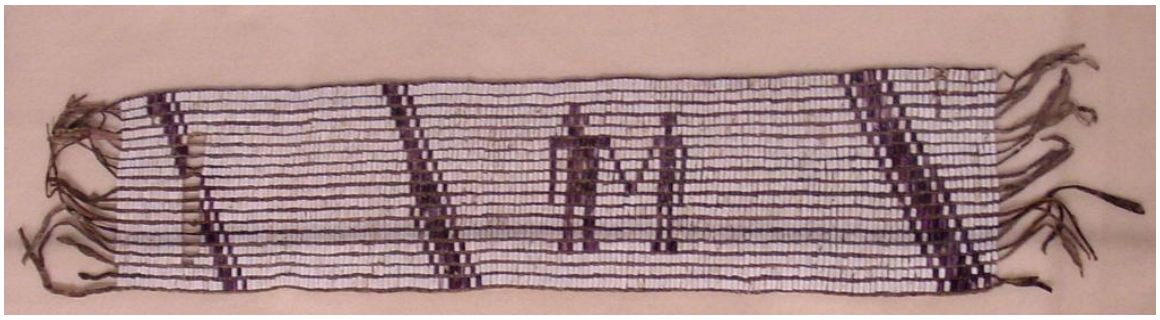

Figure 6: *Penn Wampum Belt,* Delaware, 1682, wampum shell beads Collection of the Penn Treaty Museum

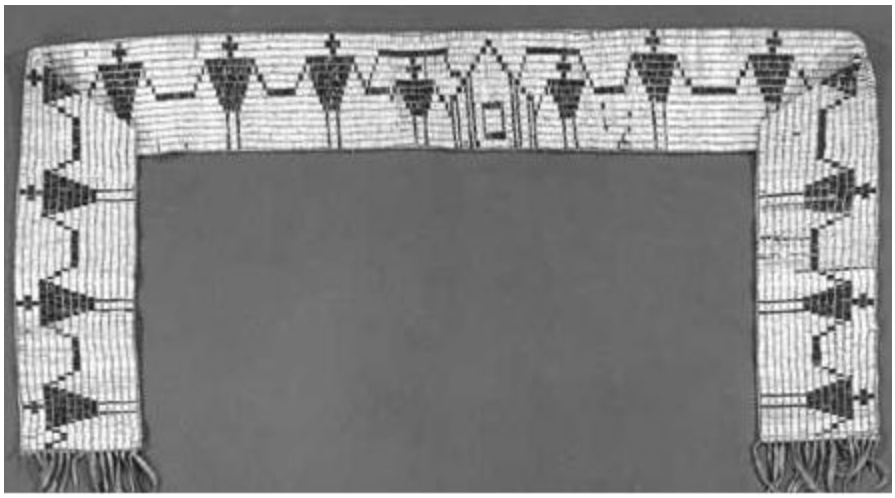

Figure 7: *George Washington Belt*, Eastern Woodlands, late 18th century wampum shell beads, Collection of the Onondaga Nation

Figure 8: *Quillwork Bag*, Eastern Woodlands, 18th century, deerskin, quills, dyed hair, and metal cones, Collection of the National Museum of the American Indian

Figure 9: *Beadwork with Double Curve Motif* (detail), Micmac, early 19th century, glass beads

Figure 10: *Saddle Blanket*, Ho-Chunk, 19th century, wool, glass pony beads, and ribbon, Collection of the National Museum of the American Indian

Figure 11: *Quillwork Bag with Pony Bead Strap*, Delaware, late 18th century, deerskin, quills, pony beads, dyed hair, and metal cones, Collection of the National Museum of the American Indian

Figure 12: *Coat*, Delaware or Shawnee, early 19th century, deerskin, glass beads and ribbon, Collection of the Detroit Institute of Arts

Figure 13: *Coat*, Shawnee or Delaware, c. 1840-1860, deerskin, glass beads, and ribbon, Private Collection

Figure 14: *Man's Vest*, Prairie Band of Potawatomi, late 19th century, wool, cotton, glass beads, and ribbon, Collection of the National Museum of the American Indian

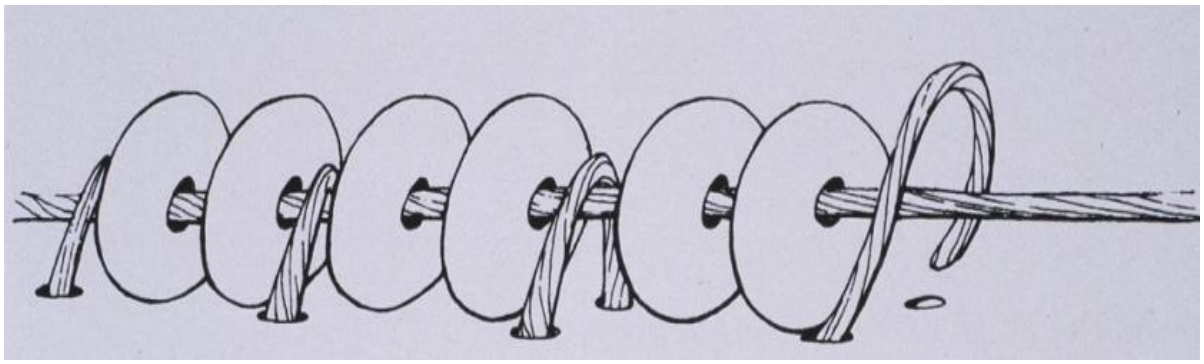

Figure 15: Diagram of Spot or Overlay Stitch used in Prairie-style Beadwork

Figure 16: *Bandolier Bag*, Delaware, c. 1860, wool, cotton, glass beads, ribbon, yarn, and metal cones, Collection of the Detroit Institute of Arts

Figure 17: *Loom Woven Bandolier Bag*, Ho-Chunk, c. 1900, wool, cotton, glass beads, ribbon, and yarn, Collection of the University of Nebraska State Museum

Figure 18: *Block Printed Cotton Fabrics*, English, early 19th century, printed cotton Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum

Figure 19: *Jackson-Houston Bandolier Bag*, Cherokee, early 19th century, wool, cotton, glass beads, ribbon, and yarn, Collection of the National Museum of the American Indian

Figure 20: *Leggings*, Ojibwe, c. 1890, velveteen, glass beads, ribbon, and cotton Collection of The Detroit Institute of Arts

Figure 21: *Bandolier Bag*, Ojibwe or Ho-Chunk, late 19th century, cotton, velvet, glass seed, and yarn, Collection of the Wisconsin Historical Museum

Figure 22: *Sled Bag*, Athapaskan, Great Slave Lake/Mackenzie River, c. 1900, hide and glass beads, Private Collection

Figure 23: *Bandolier Bag*, Cherokee, 1838, wool, cotton, glass beads, ribbon, and yarn, Collection of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology

Figure 24: *Bandolier Bag*, Delaware, early 19th century, wool, cotton, glass beads, ribbon, yarn, and metal cones, Private Collection

Figure 25: *Bandolier Bag*, Delaware, c. 1850, wool, cotton, glass beads, ribbon, yarn, and metal cones, Collection of the National Museum of the American Indian

Figure 26: *Bandolier Bag*, Delaware, 1850-1875, wool, cotton, glass beads, ribbon, yarn, and metal cones, The Masco Collection

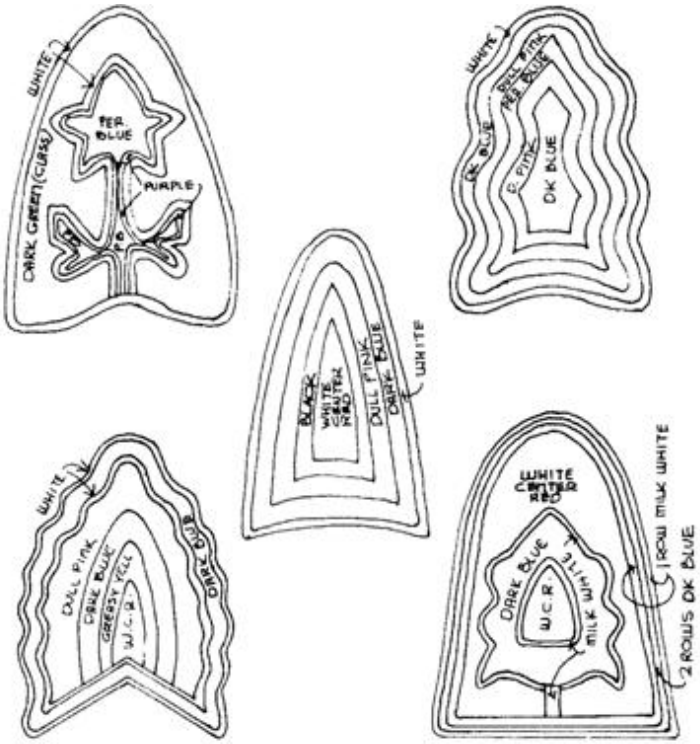

Figure 27: Delaware Moccasin Vamp Designs

Figure 28: *Moccasins*, Delaware, late19th century, deerskin, glass beads, velvet, and ribbon, Collection of the National Museum of the American Indian

Figure 29: *Moccasins*, Meskwaki, c. 1880, hide and glass beads, Private Collection

Figure 30: *Leggings*, Potawatomi, late 19th century, wool and glass beads
Collection of the National Museum of the American Indian

Figure 31: *Breechcloth*, Meskwaki, late 19th century, wool, glass beads, and ribbon Collection of the National Museum of the American Indian

Figure 32: *Faw Faw Religion Coat and Shirt*, Otoe-Missouria, late 19th century, wool, glass beads, and ribbon, Collection of the National Museum of the American Indian

Figure 33: *Midéwiwin Medicine Bag*, Ho-Chunk, late 19th century, otter skin, wool, glass beads, and ribbon, Collection of the National Museum of the American Indian

Figure 34: *Cradleboard*, Kiowa, late 19th century, deerskin and glass beads, Collection National Museum of the American Indian

Figure 35: *Moccasins*, possibly Kiowa, early 20th century, hide and glass beads
Collection of the National Museum of the American Indian

Figure 36: *Unidentified Native American Woman*, late nineteenth century, photograph,
Collection of the National Museum of the American Indian

Notes

Introduction

[1] William W. Newcomb, *The Culture and Acculturation of the Delaware Indians* (Ann Arbor: Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, 1956), 93.

[2] Lois Sherr Dubin, *North American Indian Jewelry and Adornment: From Prehistory to the Present* (New York: Harry N. Abrams) and T.J. Brasser, *Native American Clothing: An Illustrated History* (Richmond Hill, Ont.: Firefly Books).

Chapter 1

[1] Newcomb, *The Culture and Acculturation*, 82.

[2] C.A. Weslager, *The Delaware Indian Westward Migration* (Wallingford, PA: The Middle Atlantic Press, 1978), 61.

[3] Pennsylvania State Archives. "The Walking Purchase." Accessed July 20, 2012. http://www.portal.state.pa.us.

[4] Yale University Library. "Jonathan Belcher, Esq. A Proclamation, July 23, 1756." Accessed July 22, 2012. Yufind.library.yale.edu.

[5] Simpson College. "Robert Hunter Morris, Esq. A Proclamation April 14, 1756." Accessed July 22, 2012. faculty.simpson,edu/frederick.proctor/www/1756/war.htm.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Weslager, *The Delaware Indian*, 20.

[8] Ibid, 31.

[9] Ibid, 40.

[10] Ibid, 49.

[11] Ibid, 52.

[12] Ibid, 58-59.

[13] Ibid, 62.

[14] Ibid, 64.

[15] Ibid, 72.

[16] Ibid, 216.

[17] Ibid, 219.

Chapter 2

[1] George R. Hamell, "Strawberries, Floating Islands, and Rabbit Captains: Mythical Realities and European Contact in the Northeast During the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Journal of Canadian Studies* Vol. 21, No. 4 (1986/1987, Winter): 77.

[2] William C. Orchard, *Beads and Beadwork of the American Indian, A Study Based on Specimens in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation* (New York: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 1929), 16.

[3] Hamell, "Strawberries, Floating Islands," 80.

[4] Ibid, 87.

[5] Ibid, 73.

[6] Dubin, *North American Indian Jewelry*, 165 and 169.

[7] Herbert C. Kraft, *The Lenape: Archeology, History, and Ethnography* (Newark: New Jersey Historical Society, 1986), 128.

[8] Lois Sherr Dubin, *The History of Beads: from 30,000 BC to the Present* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1987), 9.

[9] Dubin, *North American Indian Jewelry*, 153.

[10] Hamell, "Strawberries, Floating Islands," 76.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Dubin, *The History of Beads*, 268.

[13] Amy C. Schutt, *People of the River Valleys: The Odyssey of the Delaware Indians* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 2007), 10.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Dubin, *The History of Beads*, 268 and 273.

[17] Harriet Maxwell Converse, "The Wampum-Records of the Iroquois," *The Monthly Illustrator* Vol. 4, No. 14 (Jun., 1895): 344.

[18] Ibid, 345.

[19] Onondaga Nation. "History of the Washington Wampum Belt." Accessed November 5, 2012. www.onondaganation.org.

[20] Dubin, *The History of Beads*, 273.

[21] Ted J. Brasser, "Memories of Dreams and Ancient Realities," in *Splendid Heritage: Perspectives on American Indian Art*, edited by. John and Marva Warnock (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2009), 14.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Dubin, *North American Indian Jewelry*, 271.

[24] Ibid, 274.

[25] Hamell, "Strawberries, Floating Islands," 76.

[26] Kraft, *The Lenape*, 201-202.

Chapter 3

[1] The Northwest Territory was established after the Revolutionary War and included the current states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin.

[2] Joseph B. Herring, The *Enduring Indians of Kansas: A Century and a Half of Acculturation* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1990), 1.

[3] Lewis Henry Morgan, *The Indian Journals1859-1862*, ed. Leslie White (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1959), 50-51. I have clarified Morgan's description by adding the word strap after head bands.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Herring, *The Enduring Indians*, 8.

[6] Ted J. Brasser, Nativ*e Paths: American Indian Art from the Collection of Charles and Valerie Diker* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998), 28.

[7] Dubin, *The History of Beads*, 286.

[8] David W. Penney, "Floral Decoration and Culture Change: An Historical Interpretation of Motivation," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* Vol.

15, No. 1 (1991): 54.

[9] Ibid, 55.

[10] Susan C. Power, *Art of the Cherokee: Prehistory to the Present* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2000), 99.

[11] Penney, "Floral Decoration and Culture Change," 59.

[12] Ibid, 71.

[13] Richard Green, "Northern Athapaskan Beadwork: Part I," *Bead Society of Great Britain*, Newsletter, 78, n.d., 14.

[14] Susan C. Power, *Art of the Cherokee*, 97.

[15] Frank G. Speck, *The Double Curve Motive in Eastern Algonkian Art* (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1914), 9.

[16] Brasser, "Memories of Dreams," 148.

[17] Julia Harrison, "He Heard Something Laugh: Otter Imagery in the Midéwiwin," in *Great Lakes Indian Art*, ed. David W. Penney (Detroit: Wayne State University Press and the Detroit Institute of Art, 1989), 83.

Conclusion

[1] Future inquiry into the dissemination of Prairie-style beadwork and the concept of influence as should be more closely examined in future scholarship on this topic, with particular attention given to Michael Baxendall's work *Patterns of Intention*.

Bibliography

Adams, Richard C. *A Delaware Indian Legend and the Story of Their Troubles*. Washington, D.C., 1899.

Berlo, Janet C. and Ruth B. Phillips. *Native North American Art*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Brasser, T.J. *Native American Clothing: An Illustrated History*. Richmond Hill, Ontario: Firefly Books, 2009.

Brown, James W. and Rita T. Kohn, eds. *Long Journey Home: Oral Histories of Contemporary Delaware Indians*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2008.

Connelley, William E. *A Standard History of Kansas and Kansans*. Chicago and New York: Lewis Publishing Co., 1918.

Converse, Harriet Maxwell, "The Wampum-Records of the Iroquois," *The Monthly Illustrator* Vol. 4, No. 14 (Jun., 1895): 342-347.

Dean, David. *Beading in the Native American Tradition*. Loveland, CO: Interweave Press, 2002.

Dubin, Lois Sherr. *The History of Beads: From 30,000 B.C. to the Present.* New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1987.

Dubin, Lois Sherr. *North American Indian Jewelry and Adornment: From Prehistory to the Present*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1999.

Green, Richard. "Northern Athapaskan Beadwork: Part I." *Bead Society of Great Britain*, Newsletter, 78, n.d. 11-14.

Hamell, George, R. "Strawberries, Floating Islands, and Rabbit Captains: Mythical Realities and European Contact in the Northeast During the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." *Journal of Canadian Studies* Vol. 21, No. 4 (1986/1987, Winter):72-94.

Harrington, M.R. *Religion and Ceremonies of the Lenape*. New York: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 1921.

Harrington, M.R. "A Preliminary Sketch of Lenápe Culture" *American Anthropologist, New Series*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (Apr. - Jun., 1913): 208-235.

Harrison, Julia. "He Heard Something Laugh: Otter Imagery in the Midéwiwin." In *Great Lakes Indian Art*, edited by David W. Penney, 83-92. Detroit: Wayne State University Press and the Detroit Institute of Art, 1989.

Herring, Joseph B. *Enduring Indians of Kansas: A Century and a Half of Acculturation*. Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 1990.

Howard, James H. "Pan-Indian Culture of Oklahoma." *The Scientific Monthly* Vol. 81, No. 5 (Nov., 1955): 215-220.

Kraft, Herbert C. *The Lenape: Archaeology, History, and Ethnology*. Newark: New Jersey Historical Society, 1986.

Miner, H. Craig. *The End of Indian Kansas: A Study of Cultural Revolution*. Lawrence, KS: Regents Press of Kansas, 1978.

Morgan, Lewis Henry. *The Indian Journals, 1859-1962*, ed. Leslie A. White. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1959.

Nagy, Clinton, ed. *Splendid Heritage: Perspectives on American Indian Art*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2009.

Newcomb, William W. *The Culture and Acculturation of the Delaware Indians*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan, 1956.

Orchard, William C. *Beads and Beadwork of the American Indian, A Study Based on Specimens in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation*. New York: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 1929.

Penney, David W. *Art of the American Indian Frontier: The Chandler-Pohrt Collection*. Detroit: Detroit Institute of Arts, 1992.

Penney, David W. "Floral Decoration and Cultural Change: An Historical Interpretation of Motivation." *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* Vol. 15, No. 1 (1991): 53-77.

Penney, David W. *North American Indian Art*. New York: Thames and Hudson, 2004.

Power, Susan C. *Art of the Cherokee: Prehistory to the Present*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2000.

Speck, Frank G. *The Double Curve Motive in Eastern Algonkian Art*, Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1914.

Weslager, C.A. *The Delaware Indians: A History*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1972.

Wardwell, Allen, ed. *Native Paths: American Indian Art from the Collection of Charles and Valerie Diker*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998.